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**SHAKER**

**EXAMINATION**

BEFORE THE

**New-Hampshire Legislature,**

**November Session,**

**1848.**

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# REPORT

OF THE

**EXAMINATION OF THE SHAKERS**

OF

**CANTERBURY AND ENFIELD,**

BEFORE THE

**New-Hampshire Legislature,**

AT THE

**NOVEMBER SESSION, 1848,**

INCLUDING THE

**TESTIMONY AT LENGTH;**

**Several Extracts from Shaker Publications; the Bill  
which passed the House of Representatives; the  
Proceedings in the Pillow Case:**

TOGETHER WITH THE

**Letter of James W. Spinney.**

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FROM NOTES TAKEN AT THE EXAMINATION.

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CONCORD, N. H.:

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1849.

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# P R E F A C E .

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THE following Report of the hearing before the New-Hampshire Legislature, in relation to the Canterbury and Enfield Shakers, has been prepared with great care and labor. The endeavor has been to give a full and fair recital of the testimony as given before the Judiciary Committee.

It is necessary that not only the members of the Legislature should be acquainted with the institution of Shakerism, established in the State by the followers of Ann Lee, but also every individual in our community, in order that all may judge fairly and judiciously whether this people are guilty of the charges which have been preferred against them.

It is hoped that the testimony will be found to be fairly and accurately reported. Inasmuch as two sets of notes have been used, and comparisons made throughout the entire Report, there can be but little probability of important mistakes.

A correct report of the Examination was made, at the time of hearing, and it was hoped it would be published, so that the public in general might be informed of the religious tenets and the practices of these Shaker Societies: but that report has been suppressed, whether by design or not is probably known only to those who have bought it up and suppressed it. This Report would not now appear, at this late hour, were it not for the numerous and oft-repeated requests of both those who were present and those who were absent at the time of the Examination.

It is perhaps proper to remark here that if anything bordering on indecency appears in the course of this testimony, it is no fault of the author of this Report: for he is bound to give the whole facts, as they appear in evidence, in order that the public may make up an impartial judgment.

*Concord, June 3, 1849.*

# THE HISTORY OF THE

The history of the world is a vast and complex subject, encompassing the lives and actions of countless individuals and the evolution of societies over time. It is a story of triumph and adversity, of discovery and conquest, of peace and war. The human condition is the central focus, as we explore the motivations and behaviors that drive our actions. From the earliest civilizations to the modern world, the patterns of human development are both fascinating and often unpredictable. The study of history allows us to understand our place in the world and to learn from the experiences of others. It is a journey through time, a quest for knowledge and understanding of our shared humanity.



# REPORT.

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CONCORD, Wednesday Evening, Dec. 13th, 1848.

Present the Judiciary Committee, consisting of—

MOSES NORRIS, of Pittsfield.

EDWIN R. LOCKE, of Portsmouth.

LEVI CHAMBERLAIN, of Keene.

GEORGE S. SAWYER, of Nashua.

ASA FOWLER, of Concord.

ANDREW L. HEESY, of Tuftonborough.

JOSHUA ATWOOD, of Pelham.

WALTER INGALLS, of Sanbornton.

BARD P. PAIGE, of Bradford.

FARNUM F. LANE, of Walpole.

The examination was conducted, on the part of the petitioners, by Hon. John S. Wells.

For the Shakers — Gen. Franklin Pierce, Hon. Josiah Quincy, Ira Perley, and William C. Prescott, Esquires.

The following petitions had been presented to the Legislature, and referred to the Judiciary Committee, viz: — The petition of Franklin Munroe and four hundred and nine others; the petition of John Leavitt and sixty-nine others; the petition of Mary Marshall and fourteen others; the petition of James M. Otis and two others, setting forth "that there are now existing, among the Society called Shakers, in this State, many gross and inconsistent practices, subversive of the public good, which require the interference of the Legislature to suppress."

Mr. Wells called the attention of the Committee to the fact that several petitions had been referred to them, numerous signed by citizens of New-Hampshire, of the first standing, in point of respectability and intelligence, of any in our State. Numerous complaints had heretofore come to the ears of the members of the New-Hampshire Legislature, respecting the

injustice of this Society called Shakers; complaints which, if true, demanded prompt and rigid legislative interference. Some of the petitioners, who have lived with the Shakers, would appear before the Committee, and from them they would learn the nature and history of their wrongs; they would tell them of their years of unrewarded toil; they would relate to them the whole course of their servitude; they would exhibit to them the wrecks of domestic happiness caused by this religious Society; the abandonment of *wives* and *children*, who had been deprived of their natural guardians and protectors, and thrown upon the cold charities of the world. These would all be made to appear to the Committee, and through them to the Legislature, and he hoped to procure their speedy interference to stop these Shakers from creeping about, like the Serpent of old, destroying many a fair Eden of domestic happiness. There is no relation existing in society, of which the law is more jealous and watchful, than that which exists between husband and wife, and it remained to be seen, whether the Legislature of New-Hampshire would protect that relation, or permit this people, called Shakers, to continue their ravages upon Society without any check or restraint.

GARDINER WILLARD *called*.—I am eighteen years of age; I have lived with the Shakers at Canterbury eleven years; I am a brother of William Williard who has lived with the Canterbury Shakers; I came away from the Society about two months since. While there I was always taught to disown and hate all natural affection; was told not to have any regard for my relations, and was never allowed to be with them unless some of the leaders were with me; I was instructed to look no further than the Elders for God; they (the Elders,) could see and discern what was right, and what was wrong, in all cases. The Shakers were accustomed to have revelations and see visions; used to have intercourse with Indians, Negroes, and Angels. I have known children who were obliged to kneel, and stand so hours together for trivial offences; I have been obliged to do it myself. When we were aggrieved at any thing, we were not allowed to complain to any one except the Caretakers; if they abused us we could complain to



no one except them. We were always commanded never to say a word against a Shaker on any occasion whatever; if we communicate any thing against them, we are reprobates, and lose our souls. While there I should not have dared to say one word against any one of the Society of the Shakers, nor of their religion. If I disobeyed one of the Shaker commands in the least particular, I was considered a reprobate till I confessed it to the Elders, and had forgiveness; I was given to understand that the Elders could forgive anything.

We arise at half past four o'clock in the morning, during the summer, and later in winter; eat breakfast and worked till twelve o'clock; eat dinner and commenced work again, and worked till six o'clock; then eat supper. After eating supper, there is an exercise which is called "retiring." We are required to sit up straight in our chairs, without touching the chair backs, perfectly still. If we laugh, fall asleep, or whisper, or do anything out of order, we must stand up and make three bows to the Elders, and confess. Persons frequently fall asleep from fatigue, after laboring during the day. Immediately after "retiring," we go into meeting, and after meeting all retire to bed; none sit up.

I was allowed to go away to ride once in a year, while I was at the Shakers; I used to have from ninepence to fifteen cents to spend on such occasions.

I knew George A. Emery, and was there when he died. His Caretaker was Ephraim Dennett. I once saw Dennett seize this boy and beat his head upon the floor as many as fifteen times. I was in the meeting the night that the boy died. We were told, by Elder Johnson, that a sad accident had happened; that George had gone down in the field to walk with Ephraim, and while there had fallen upon a rock, struck his head and killed him. We were commanded not to say one word to one another about it; not to be talking about it to any one, and to be sure and say nothing to Ephraim Dennett about it. He said he was glad we were all present, for he spoke to the people that they might all think alike about it.

When my parents or relatives come to see me, I was commanded not to be with them. I saw my mother a number of times contrary to orders. I have no father; he is dead.

I was once commanded not to go from the place where I was, out to a grindstone, only three rods distant. For disobeying, I was commanded to kneel and remain in that position all night. I did remain there in that position all night. I knew a Maloon boy to be beaten so that his screams could be heard all over the Society; some one was beating him nearly half an hour; I heard it all; I was in an adjoining bed-room. We were always commanded not to make mention of our troubles to one another, but go to the "Lead," the very source from whence our sufferings came. The labor of other children was the same as mine.

I was instructed to consider Christ as coming the second time in the person of Ann Lee. The Shakers, of late, have taken one newspaper. No one except one or two particular ones were allowed to read it, and they would select the remarkable pieces, such as sudden deaths, terrible accidents, destructive fires, shipwrecks, murders, &c., and read those to the others when assembled together. They would represent every thing out of the Society as wicked, while there it was nothing but peace and happiness; they called it the "Valley of Peace." James Johnson is head Elder at Canterbury. If anything affected the interest of the Society of Shakers, I was always commanded to speak in favor of them.

I left because I was dissatisfied; was taken there by my father. I never signed the "Covenant" because it is not signed till the signer is twenty-one years of age.

*Cross examined*, by Gen. Pierce.—I was told to stand in fear of my "Lead," and always speak in favor of the Shakers in all cases. James Brackett was the Caretaker who beat William Maloon. I was made to kneel, and remain in that position all night. My father went with me to the Shakers. William Willard, my brother, and two of my sisters were there when I went. I saw my mother and sister four or five times when none of the Lead knew it; I was not reprimanded for it, because the Leaders did not find it out. I saw my brother alone only once while I was there; saw him at other times with my mother and sister. They used to make me kneel three or four years ago. I went to school three months in winter while there, and was well treated by my teacher. We had no summer school for boys. I was in the habit of reading Shaker

books while there. The children were not all obliged to go to meeting in the evening. "*Retiring*" ended at half past eight o'clock. I mean by retiring, that we are obliged to sit up straight in the chair, and not touch the back; keep perfectly still and not get to sleep.

Some of the Shaker books are called "Christ's Second Appearing;" "Youth's Guide in Zion;" "Sacred Roll," &c. They have a very large manuscript book, called their "Rules and Orders." I have never read in any of their books, the injunction to consider the Elders as Gods. The ordinary bed-time depends on the length of the meetings.

MRS. THRESA H. WILLARD, *called*. My husband is William Willard; I am twenty-seven years of age, and have lived with the Shakers, at Canterbury, seventeen years; I left them when twenty-three years of age; commenced living with them at the age of six years; was *always* taught to obey my Elders, in every particular, and respect them; if I did not the consequence would be the loss of my soul.

All the God that I was to know anything about was my Elders; have been told to look to James Johnson, (one of the Elders,) as God, and not be looking anywhere else for a God; I was commanded to disregard all natural affection; to have no more regard for my mother, brothers, and sisters, than for any one else; I was carried to the Shakers by my father. The Shakers pretend, and are understood, to have the power of healing diseases, if the patient only has faith. I had a brother who was sick with consumption, and when very feeble he was in the meeting marching round in a ring, when David Parker approached him, and having seized him, whirled him about very furiously, and, as I supposed, attempted to heal him. He died in about a fortnight. My father placed me, my older brother, and sister there; my sister is there now. We were told to reverence Ann Lee above all others; that Christ made his second appearance in her; also taught that the Shaker Elders had communion with spirits in another world. I was strictly taught not to speak against them; while there I never dared to say anything against them. We were taught to reverence the Shakers as the only true people of God. If I had said anything against one of them I should have expected to have been reprobated; doomed to Hell for an unpardonable sin.

I have seen children compelled to stand on their knees for hours together, for trivial offences. I saw children whipped there frequently; beaten severely, as I thought. Knew a child, a little girl, seven or eight years old, who did not read so well as her Caretaker thought she might; she was whipped severely, then put down in a damp cellar and kept till



twelve o'clock at night ; next morning she had a fever, and was sick two weeks ; once saw the marks on the back of a young woman, twenty-three or twenty-four years old, which were made there by whipping, ten years before.

The children were compelled to eat whatever was set before them ; saw a girl, eight years old, who could not eat fat meat ; her Caretaker would stand over and whip her to make her eat it ; stand over her and force it into her till the tears came into her eyes ; the little girl would often hide the meat in my handkerchief. Have seen this done as often as once or twice a week, and sometimes four or five times in a week. I once saw a Caretaker hold a little girl's head back, until she turned black in the face, and came near being strangled. Children were often compelled, by their teachers, to bend down and hold their heads under a low bench. A girl was hung up near the top plastering, with a cord under her arms, and was kept there for an hour or more ; girl was nine or ten years old.

I have frequently seen little children compelled to stand upon their knees till they were so weak as to fall over, and then were flogged for it ; they would box their ears and make them stand up again. I have known small children compelled to perform tasks, and deprived of food and beaten for a failure of the performance.

I have been a teacher ; was placed over children ; was directed to require of the children complete submission to me ; to obey my will ; commanded to enforce it by *severe punishment*.

I was with the Shakers, at Canterbury, when the little boy, George A. Emery was killed. Saw him when he was in his coffin. His face, ears, and neck were black and blue, as far down as I could see. Elder James Johnson came into the meeting on the night of the boy's death, and told us that a sad accident had happened ; that George A. Emery went down in the field, or to the farm, to walk, with Ephraim Dennett, and fell with his head upon a rock and killed him. He enjoined upon us not to say anything about the death of the little boy to any one ; not to be speaking to one another about it ; and more especially to Ephraim Dennett, as he felt bad enough about it. Don't recollect the season of the year, but think it was in the autumn ; am not certain.

My sister, when about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, was under the whirling power ; whirling very fast on her heels and toes ; when the Elders commanded her to stop. She did not stop ; they pushed her to the stairs ; she could not whirl up stairs, and was pushed down on the stairs ; she was sick more than two weeks afterwards ; she thought one of her ribs was broken.

We were not allowed to read newspapers ; if anything *terrible* happened, such as an *earthquake*, or anything which would give us an idea

of the horror and wickedness of the world, we were assembled together, and such pieces selected and read to us. We were allowed to have very little knowledge of the world; only one newspaper taken. I think the reading of papers was not prohibited when I first went there. There was an order came, at one time, for all books, containing pictures or stories, to be brought and delivered up to the Elders, and burnt or given to "bats and moles."

We were obliged to retire for half an hour; sit straight in a chair half an hour and not speak; if any one fell asleep, must make three bows or confess to the Elders; if I did anything wrong I was to confess it to God's ministers, who were the Shaker ministry and Elders, and God would forgive me. When young, I thought Elders forgave sins; afterwards learned that God forgave them upon confession to the Elders.

The Shakers pretended that they had the power and gift of inspiration; was taught, when a child that the Elders were inspired, and if I had implicit faith in them, I could be inspired and write messages; they spoke to me several times about writing; I have been told to retire from labor and write a message from the prophet; one Eldress took a gold leaf from her head, and told me to go and write from the leaf by inspiration. They told me I could write by inspiration, and must write; went away and tried.

*Cross examined*—by Gen. Pierce. I was with the Shakers seventeen years; was always well treated *myself*; was always taught to tell the truth *there*; truthfulness was inculcated on all occasions in the *Society*; don't remember ever to have heard any one *told* to lie; I never saw any thing out of the way in relation to the communication of the sexes; have been compelled to write several pieces by inspiration, and was requested before I came away to sign my name to these pieces as written by inspiration. I told them they were not written by inspiration; have been compelled to write in a book, that I believed them written by inspiration. I recollect a girl nearly my age, who did not do her tasks and was punished for not doing them.

Asenath Stickney was severely whipped and put into the cellar; Susan Whitcher had marks upon her back, where she had been whipped; Clarissa Dow had marks on her person several days after whipping; Zippa Blanchard had marks also; George A. Emery was the last boy whom I heard of who was whipped; Lois Lawrence was the last girl whom I saw *severely* whipped; this was three or four years before I left; Almira Sanborn was the girl who was hung up by the arms; this was fifteen or sixteen years ago.

I was sent to school till I was fourteen years old, three months in each summer; books were principally English Reader and Youth's Companion. A few of the pieces only were printed, which were written by inspira-



tion. Several large books of inspirations were written and read to us. I never read much in these books; they had Bibles in every room. Not much said about the *common Bible*, as a foundation of the Shaker faith. They maintain that the Bible is the basis of their faith. Generally two persons were Caretakers of the girls; I was reprov'd harshly sometimes, and sometimes not; Shakers were particular to clothe their children, and *generally*, to give them wholesome food; sometimes mouldy pie. When children were thought to be sick they were well cared for; I have known children's parents sent for sometimes; James Murray's mother was sent for; also A. H. Wislathall's mother; Dr. Tripure and Dr. Corbett attend'd him; Dr. Tenney and Crosby were called; Dr. Frank has been call'd there.

*Direct examination resumed*—by Mr. Wells. I was never taught to take the common Bible as my guide; was told to take Shaker books; their Laws and Orders as my guide of life; these Laws and Orders were given by inspiration; I should not have dared on any account while there, to have spoken against a Shaker.

We rose at half past four in summer, and at five in winter; tasks were imposed upon me very soon after I went there; we worked till noon; as soon as through dinner, we worked till supper; then retired half an hour, where we had to sit up straight as I before said; then went to meeting; one night sat up all night to get a young man inspired.

There was an Elder who had the consumption; an attempt was made to heal him; he was called into meeting in the night; they said there was a gift for him to be healed; he was very weak; could not speak above a whisper; they told him to shout and leap; he tried to shout; the inspired ones sprinkled power upon him; this was continued till midnight; he died soon after.

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THURSDAY EVENING, DEC. 14th.

HIRAM CLIFFORD.—I lived with the Shakers about twelve years; little more than a year at Canterbury; rest of the time at Enfield. We were taught and commanded to be in true submission to the Elders at all times. Elders were "as Gods to the people;" if we disobey'd them we disobey'd God; they were call'd the "Visible Lead." Every thing we did must be for the interest of the Shakers; never to communicate any grievances to any one except the Elders; if we did not confess to *them* we should be lost. We were oblig'd to rise about four o'clock in the morning. After supper, had to sit up straight

in our chairs half an hour—called “retiring”—then go in to the meeting and dance, &c. They taught that Christ made his second appearance in Ann Lee. The old Prophet Elisha once made his appearance among the Shakers in the person of Hester Ann Adams. All the buildings were commanded to be cleansed with hoes, shovels, mops and brooms, &c. They commenced cleansing, and went from one house to another; it took us four or five days, commencing soon after breakfast and ending at sunset. After cleansing the buildings, commenced to cleanse ourselves from all pollution. Hester Ann Adams, Harriet Hastings, David Parker, and others, were there. These shovels, hoes, brooms, &c., were spiritual instruments not material.

Had I been called upon to testify in a court of justice, I should felt it my duty, with my Shaker belief, to state every thing in favor of the Shakers; if I did not, I should be out of union, or a heretic. Did not dare do any thing against their interest. It was enjoined upon me always to expose my associates to the Elders. Purging us, was excluding us from all associates. Never allowed to speak to one who was excluded from union. Was told not to have any natural affection for my wife and children; must stifle it. Had a wife and six children, when I went there; I never saw my children alone after I went there. It was not allowed for any one in the family to have any money, watches or silver; could have pencils of iron, brass, &c. When I went there I had \$15,00—a silver watch and a silver pencil. There came an order for them to be given up; I gave all up. During the twelve years I stayed there I worked making pails, painting, blacksmithing. Received \$20,00 when I left.

While I was there I was sent, by David Parker, to take the measurement of water on a rock in the pond; worked in the water, and took cold, and had the rheumatism; was sick three weeks. The Elder told me, and told an Elder of the north family, that I must have a bed and suitable food; went to the north family. The north family Elder told me that they had no sick room, but perhaps I could have a chance to be on a bed of one the brethren in the garret. This bed consisted of an old surtout and a block of wood for a pillow; all the bed I had.

No care was taken of me, and I had no diet; some time before I was able to work; as soon as able, went to work.

There were very frequently disputes among the brethren; contradicting each other and calling hard names; I frequently spoke to the Shakers about their quarrelling; was always told not to mention these quarrels to the world's people. The Elders used to tell the world that their society was the "Valley of Peace and Quietness;" have been obliged to tell the same myself.

There is a spot of ground in Enfield called the Holy Fountain, where they assemble once in a year to worship; there is a stone erected there with letters on it—an inscription—all were commanded to bow to it as they went up. We were told that there was the living pool of spiritual water. They have meetings around this stone similar to those at home; they dip water from this pool with imaginary dippers. They used to tell us that imaginary fruit was scattered around there by ministering spirits. Oranges and other fruit trees were represented as growing there; we were commanded to pick and eat of it. They used to jump and dance and skip about.

I have seen the book called the Holy Roll; it was published; The proof sheets were brought from New-Lebanon and read before they were published. When the sheets were read, great trumpets were blown by each one, as I supposed to send the Gospel to all nations; the trumpets were brought with the book. This revelation was made by Philerman Stewart. It was represented that the book was written by Divine inspiration, and was the word of God; I never heard any thing said of the Old Testament; never saw one of our common Bibles in their meetings, except once or twice in eleven years, when a member carried it in. Their books were "Christ Second Appearing"—"Millenial Church," and other books.

Our confessions were made to the Elders; and I was always told that these were to be kept a secret by the Elders; found out they were not kept secret.

Once or twice in a year the children were allowed to ride out. Children were never allowed any pastimes, sports, or any childlike amusements; no social amusements, any more than to run in the door yard, a few moments, for exercise; chil-



dren were always kept to work from their earliest capacity to labor.

*Cross examined*, by Gen. Pierce. I lived in the East Village, in Concord, before I went to the Shakers; born in Maine; learned my trade in Gilmanton, and was thirty-one years old when I went there to live. Had household furniture when I went there; it was such as other people use; can't tell how much there was precisely; should think from forty to one hundred dollars' worth. When I first went there I lived in the Moor's house, which was furnished by one of the Shakers, James Whitcher. Lived there two months; then went to north family and joined the society. Don't know whether a scedule of any property was made out then or not; think there was something said about my property when I left. After I left, at my request, James Whitcher brought me a bed and some other articles. After I had been there fifteen months, I became dissatisfied and left. I came to Concord and worked five months then went to Enfield. They were dissatisfied with me, because I wished to converse with my wife. I left because I was dissatisfied in not being permitted to speak with my wife. The property which James Whitcher gave me I sent back to Canterbury Shakers.

I was taught to tell the truth to the Shakers; don't know as I was ever *told* to tell a lie to the world. Went into the North family at Enfield; gave my money, watch and silver pencil case to Jason Kidder and Samuel Barker the Trustees at the second family. I received only \$20,00 in money when I left. The day before I left, I settled with Jason Kidder, at second family; he gave me \$15,00. Settled with True W. Heath, at North family; received five dollars more and gave my receipt in full for one dollar; all that I ever received for my labor twelve years. I have resided in Hooksett since I left; been at Canterbury once.

Never knew of parents seeing their children alone; don't recollect of parents requesting to see their children, and be refused.

Had Doctors, when sick; water gruel was recommended to me by Dyer; I did complain to John Lyon, Elder, of my diet. He would not grant me a change of diet. My three oldest children went to the Shakers before I did; my oldest, a girl,

was twelve years old nearly. There was a reason why I was taken from the second family and carried to the North family, which it is not proper to speak of before the ladies who are present. I did not pick up my furniture myself nor was it ever brought to me.

JAMES PARTRIDGE.—I lived with the Shakers at Canterbury nine or ten years; am now twenty-four years of age. I was placed there, by my father, when twelve years old; I was always taught to restrain all natural affection.

I have seen frequent instances of abuse among them; George Clarke was compelled to crawl on his hands and knees from half past seven o'clock in the evening, till four in the morning; this was because he did not believe in inspiration, and would not talk in unknown tongues. I have been compelled myself to stand on my knees, two hours at a time, for only laughing in time of "retiring." Retiring is immediately after supper, when we sit up half an hour, without touching the chair back. Because I did not dance hard enough in meeting, I was pulled and twitched about by David Parker; had been laboring hard during the day. Have seen David pull this George Clarke till he got him up in a corner; handled him so roughly that he resisted. "What," says David, "do you resist the Spirit of the Lord?" "No," was the reply, "but I resist the spirit of the Devil." I have seen David pull George Goots about in the same way; he pulled his shirt out of his pantaloons in the meeting.

I knew of the death of George A. Emery. Was at work in the Botanic Garden, when one of the Shakers spoke to me and asked me what Ephraim Dennett had been doing to that boy he had with him. He said that he saw Ephraim coming from the East farm with a boy on his back and a strap in his hand. Went into the shop and saw the boy lying upon his back, almost dead; still breathing. His neck and face was a good deal black and blue; the marks appeared to me like bruises. He died soon afterwards. I have known Ephraim Dennett to abuse boys; seen him abuse this little Emery-boy on former occasions; I was in the meeting the night after he was killed. One of the Elders said that a sad accident had



happened; George A. Emery had fallen upon a stone and was killed. He did not wish us to speak of it to one another, and especially not to Ephraim.

Have seen an old man, Peter Ayer, eighty or ninety years old, pitched and tumbled about the room. He was gagged by stuffing a handkerchief in his mouth. This was done because he was going to speak his mind. I have frequently seen women laid upon their backs on the floor, in the public meetings, and others would walk over them; sometimes they would trample upon them; have seen old women on their backs in the floor; don't know how *they* came there; whether thrown down or not.

Have known women shut up in a room in the night, and two men placed in the door to guard them in their room. One night the saw dust in the spit boxes was thrown round all over us; they called it fire. Have seen a great many such cases as I have mentioned. I knew Mrs. Garland; she was a very aged woman; have seen her hauled, and pitched about in their meetings; I knew of Elijah Brown and Dr. Corbett being shut up in a room.

There is a place at Canterbury called the "Holy Fountain;" it is a marble stone with an inscription upon it. There is where we used to go and make our bows; They have a row of trees—evergreens and spruces—round it. There all get down on all fours, and pick up fruit; Elders and all.

When I left them they paid me ten dollars, which was one dollar a year for the time I stayed there.

Old Mr. Ayers, who was gagged, has been considered one of the founders of the Society. Latterly, since he refused to believe in inspiration, they have made him live in a house alone; he is a hard laboring man.

*Cross examination*, by Gen. Pierce.—I think it was four or five years ago that Ayers was treated as I have described; this was a time of unusual excitement; it lasted three or four years.

I left the Shakers in 1844; have been over a considerable portion of this country; have travelled about the country for two years. The Ministry were sent for to Enfield during this

time of excitement. Hester Ann Adams and Mary Whitcher took the lead in throwing down the women. (Question by Gen. Pierce,) "What have you been doing, while travelling for the last two years?" Witness refused to answer unless directed by the Committee.

JOSEPH H. GARLAND. I have lived with the Shakers at Enfield from the time I was eleven years old till I was thirty-five, which is twenty-four years. The last eighteen years of my stay there I worked blacksmithing; usually very well and worked daily. All I received from them when I left was \$100,00 and some Shaker clothes. Have seen children abused; Chase Allard, one of the Shakers, once whipped a boy and the marks could be seen on his body three or four weeks afterwards; have seen John Robinson kept on his knees more than a day at a time; have been kept on my own knees near half a day for trivial offences. When a boy I was at work in the hay-field, and because I did not work quite as fast as True W. Heath wanted me to, he came at me with the pitchfork; I sprang with all my might to get out of the way, but the fork tine pierced my hip to the bone; Chase Allard, who had charge of the boys, told me that he used to abuse the boys in a passion.

Shakers used to represent Indians, Negroes, and Devils. I was urged on to represent them, because I could do it as well as any of them; had quite a "gift" that way; could do it now, if proper.

I have never seen so much contention, and quarrelling, and hard feeling, in an equal number of the world's people as I have seen there; a great deal of jealousy and contention there.

If I had been called upon, while a Shaker, to come here to Concord and testify before this Committee, I should have told a lie as quick as the truth, if the truth did not favor the Shakers. If called upon to testify in a court of justice I should not dare tell anything that would go against a Shaker. People who leave them, they say, go to hell. I thought, when I left, I was going straight to hell; left because I had a great curiosity to see the wicked world, and could go back again. Departed spirits, apostates from the Society, would appear in the persons of devils, and would use the most profane language I ever

heard ; this was in their meetings. They would get so raving that we had to hold them, and tie them up in bags to prevent them from injuring themselves and clothes.

I have been to the Holy Fountain, on the hill, with the Shakers to worship ; manner of worship as described by other witness ; Samuel Curtis discovered this fountain ; he prophesied " that hundreds and thousands would come there to worship, like doves to their windows." The divine command was first to erect no building over it, but a number having caught cold, while there worshipping, and having died, the Angel ordered a building to be erected over it.

*Cross examination* was dispensed with.

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FRIDAY, Dec. 15th, 3 o'clock, P. M.

JAMES M. OTIS.—I live in Portsmouth ; am a carpenter ; thirty years old ; went to live with the Shakers when thirteen years old, and a little more than thirteen years ; I left them Aug. 7th, 1845 ; for the last two or three years I was in the Office ; was Trustee one and a half years ; Elder two years ; an Elder when I left them.

The highest order among them is called the " Ministry," or " Holy Anointed of God on Earth," consisting of two males and two females. Their Bishopric extends over the two societies of Enfield and Canterbury. The Ministry reside in the chambers over the church ; four chambers in second story. There are two doors, one stairway and a hall ; the males occupy one end, the females the other ; they have another building, called their workshop, where they work days. Evenings, nights, and Sundays, they stay in their chambers. Nobody but Elders are allowed to go there, and they only on business. Two beds in each room. David Parker was one of the Ministry nine or ten years ; Esther Ferrin and Harriet Hastings were the female members of the Ministry.

The Shakers are divided into families ; two male and two female Elders ; Shakers are taught to regard whatever the Ministry and Elders teach as divine, and they must be obeyed. They teach that the Ministry and Elders can do nothing wrong ; that they are the specially inspired and anointed of God



David Parker told me that many things, brought forward as inspiration and revelation, he did not believe in, but must say "yes" to it, in order to make the *people* believe it. They teach that those who leave them are reprobates—doomed to eternal damnation—nothing can save them.

I am knowing to several instances of cruel treatment; Peter Foster commanded a boy, Nathaniel Aikerman, not to leave the shop; the boy left; was gone about fifteen minutes. After the boy returned, Foster seized him, and whipped him with a horse-whip till he broke it up about him; he struck him nearly twenty times; the boy had then been confined all the forenoon. Foster was then only a common member; has since been made an Elder. Another time I was in the same shoe-maker's shop, where two boys, George A. Emery and Elbridge G. Clifford, were under the charge of Ephraim Dennett; saw him place the boys on their knees and make them stand there; saw him shut them up in a cupboard. I was one day in the shop, and this Dennett was hearing the boys read, when one of the boys, the Emery boy, miscalled a letter, Dennett struck him with his fist and knocked him down upon the floor; then made him get up; boy miscalled again; Dennett again knocked him down. Then it was repeated the third time. Dennett said nothing to the boy only just, "Get up—read;" did not tell him how to read; I went and informed the Elders what I had seen; James Johnson told me that Ephraim Dennett was not a fit person to have the charge of boys, but there was nobody else within doors, and he must keep charge of them. This was the Emery boy, who was killed a few months afterwards.

A few months after, I was at work in the garden, when old Mr. Sleeper came to me, and asked me if I knew of any accident which had happened; I told him "no." He said he saw a man carrying a boy in his arms; he (Sleeper) halloed to him, but he did not stop; I went into the Office and found the boy dead. He had nothing on but shirt and pants. There was no one else there, then, but myself. I found bruises on the sides of his face, head, neck, and arms; did not make any further examination. Found some of the people, who told me that Dennett had killed the boy. As I went out of the shop, I

met Elder James Johnson, who appeared much agitated, and inquired for Dr. Tripure. He asked me if I had heard of the dreadful affair. I told him I had; he said it was dreadful; he hoped it would not get out; that he supposed the mother would have to be sent for, as she was only at Lowell; he wished she was five hundred miles off. He said he was afraid Ephraim would run crazy. Shakers eat at a common table. At supper, Elder Johnson requested every one to be present at meeting that evening. The same orders were given at the next table. At meeting, that evening, Johnson spoke to us all, and said a sad accident had happened—that George A. Emery went down into the field with Ephraim, and fell and was killed; that the result of an examination by Dr. Corbett, was, (Dr. Corbett is Shaker Physician now,) that the boy probably fell on a stone, which caused instant death. He said he spoke to them that they might all be of one mind about it. (The further remarks of Elder Johnson were testified to by former witnesses.) The boy was buried next day; coffin ordered to be made that evening, and was commenced; I saw the coffin, next morning, with the child nailed up in it; a glass in the lid of the coffin; William Willard was sent, for the boy's mother, to Lowell. She arrived there about the time the funeral commenced; I was told she was permitted to see the face of her child through the glass. This boy was *very amiable and beautiful*, as much so as most any boy that I ever saw; *dutiful, gentle, and kind*. He was quite large for his age.

I have seen men and women thrown down upon the floor; and have seen them commanded to lay down. If any declined to lay down themselves, the Elders would tell some others to throw them down. Once knew a lady to be thrown down and trampled upon. Have known men to be thrown down in the same way, and rolled from one end of the floor to the other, for thirty or forty feet. We were taught to regard the Elders as inspired of God. Elder Johnson said they could find God only in their Lead, and if they wanted to find God, to look at him.



FRIDAY EVENING, Dec. 15th.

I was at Canterbury at the time of the publication of the Holy Roll, which has been mentioned. The book was brought to Canterbury by Philerman Stewart himself, and there printed. The leading Shakers were assembled there from all the different societies, by whom the book was revised, corrected, and amended. The Angels agreed with the Shakers to be present and superintend the printing. So as often as every proof-sheet was prepared, four great tin trumpets were blown to summon the Angels, who came and made the necessary corrections. The book was written by Stewart, from inspiration; but when it was examined by the different societies, it was thought not fit to print, so the Shakers from different societies met to revise and correct it. Dr. Tripure, Henry Blinn, Philerman Stewart, and two or three females, were present to blow the tin trumpets and summon the Angels. Orders were given that not one word should be said about the book.

The Holy Fountain at Canterbury was found while I was present. It was revealed to some one that there was a holy piece of ground, containing this Holy Fountain; so eight or ten of us were employed to find the Fountain. We went to hunt after it, at ten o'clock in the morning, and hunted till three in the afternoon, David Parker and Harriet Hastings, two of the Holy Anointed, were with us. They thought the spot was where we went in the morning; had a meeting about it in the evening. The next morning went again; David Parker went to the spot, and said it was "*there*;" that there was no use in hunting all day, for "*that*" was the spot. He told me afterwards that he had picked it out before hand; before we went to look for it. The first stone which was erected got broken, although attended, as they said, by an Angel. They got another which they did not like, and it was replaced by a third.

The Shakers bow down and kiss the Elders' feet. I have known this frequently, and they think most of those who do it. They have divers gifts and inspirations, among others that of unknown tongues.

There was a young woman, by the name of Bean, who had

a revelation that myself and one or two other young men, must learn to speak in unknown tongues. Johnson sent for me, and said I must get this gift; told me I must speak at the next meeting; it would confound the world's people, who would be present. At the next meeting I did not speak in unknown tongue, so afterwards Johnson called me, and got the girl in, who talked to me as an Angel. I told them I would try; Johnson told me to open my mouth and God would put words into my mouth. I then repeated some sounds, and he told me that it was the true gift of God, and I must improve in it. I used to speak in unknown tongues afterwards in meeting; can do the same now. (Here witness gave a specimen of unknown tongues, which amused the Committee much, notwithstanding very few of them were able to interpret it.)

Sometimes the young men and women used to roll, dance, whirl, sing, bark like dogs, crow like roosters, &c., in their meetings.

Hester Ann Adams, at a public meeting of the Society, stated that she was inspired for the prophet Elisha, or some other prophet or Angel, that Catherine Lyon had been committing some great sin; something that was abominable in the sight of God, and had brought his judgment and displeasure upon the Society. Catherine Lyon was called upon to acknowledge what it was; she denied that she had done anything; Hester Ann then said, "the cleaver, the cleaver," some half dozen times. She then proceeded, "Oh, what abomination! what corruption! what filth! gratifying your lusts with a cleaver!" She then called for the cleaver to be brought into the meeting, and, by the approbation of the leaders, the cleaver was brought into the room by a young man, from the cellar, and laid in the middle of the floor. The cleaver was of iron, and about three feet long; handle two feet. It was laid in the middle of the floor, before Catherine Lyon, who had been seated upon her haunches. Hester Ann then said that the cleaver was written all over, handle, blade and all. Then it was read by Hester, part in English, and part in unknown tongue. She read "lust, filth, abomination, gratification of lusts," and then she went on to speak, for the Angel, to the woman, telling her she must repent from her filth, abomination, &c., and she must own it.

The woman persisted in denying it. Hester Ann said it was revealed to her by the prophet. Catherine Lyon was finally hooted out to the back side of the room. They had, meantime, pulled off her cap and handkerchief, which it is considered a disgrace to be seen without. After this meeting was over, this woman with three others, who had been similarly accused and treated, were shut up in a room by themselves, and another young woman, by the name of Susan Whitcher, pretending to be inspired by some prophet or angel, said she would seal the door. She then pulled one shoe off her foot, struck the top and bottom and two sides of the door with her shoe. She then said it was necessary for two men to guard the door through the night, to see that they did not get out. Those appointed were Benjamin Knight and William Dennett. Catherine Lyon and the other three who were shut up with her, were about the same age. Catherine Lyon had lived with the Shakers from ten years of age.

*Cross examined.*—This took place about 1843. I think I was then Trustee, but am not certain. The meeting was held in the Church Family's public meeting-room. This meeting embraced all the members of the family, except the children under fourteen years of age. The other three women were Huldah Garland, Lavina Lucus, and D. George. Catherine Lyon is now in the family.

This was a time of considerable excitement in religion; had been for several years. I think David Parker was not there, nor any of the Holy Anointed; the Elders were there.

*Direct examination resumed.*—The letters which were received by members were all delivered to the Elders; if Trustees received any letters, they delivered them to the Elders. The persons to whom the letters were directed, were called in, letters given them, and they then read them aloud to Elders. Those written to minors were broken open by Elders; while a minor, all my letters were broken open.

I recollect Lydia Garland, the mother of Samuel Garland, who is a witness here; she was over ninety years of age when she died. At one of their excited meetings, in a winter evening, she was absent. There was a special call to have her and others sent for; three young ladies were sent for her, who



returned and brought her with them; stated that they found her abed. She appeared pale, agitated, and afraid. They called her out into the middle of the room; told her to get down on her knees; made her stand so fifteen or twenty minutes, and told her she was a nasty, filthy, fleshy old woman, and clung to her natural affections.

I remember of Mira Bean whirling once in a room; I remember of seeing Peter Ayers taken by some eight or ten; he then being near eighty years old, and having been a believer some sixty years. He was thrown down upon the floor, and a handkerchief stuffed into his mouth; he was not a full believer at the time; he lived by himself; he exclaimed against them, and tried to express his opinion. After the handkerchief was stuffed into his mouth, all left him but two or three. I saw a hole in the plastering, which was said to have been made by pounding the old man's head against it.

I have repeatedly heard children, males and females, screeching and screaming. I once saw a boy by the name of Hillsgrove, who had black and blue marks on his legs, where he had been whipped two or three days before. I once saw a spot of blood on the floor, in the boy's apartment and was told it was where a boy's head was beaten upon the floor. I have been called upon by the female Eldress to go in the night after withs to whip the female children with.

We were always taught to speak the truth to *one another*. From the instructions received, if I had been called upon to testify against the Shakers, I should have lied in their favor.

*Cross examined*, by Gen. Pierce.—I was never *told* to lie *verbally*. A few years ago, the Hillsgrove family were before the Legislature; David Parker wanted me to come before the Legislature, and desired William Williard to come also, and testify that we had never seen any abuse of these children; I came and so stated before the Committee, although I did know some of the facts stated in the petition. David Parker requested me to come and state before the Committee that I knew nothing of the truth of the statements contained in that petition. I *did* know, and had spoken to David Parker about the abuse of these Hillsgrove children. I complained, and James Brack-

ett was removed, because he used so much corporeal punishment, before the hearing on the petition of the Hillsgrove children. The Elders always inculcated mild punishment, but they always told me that I must make them mind. Brackett was removed for his severity. I did not state the facts in relation to the Emery boy before the Committee. Since I left the Shakers, I have been more at Portsmouth than at any other one place; have worked at my trade. I have been about some, exhibiting Shakerism, with Dr. Tripure. Part of the time, while I was with the Shakers, I did not believe all their doctrines. When I repeated the gibberish, I was only obeying the Elders and Ministry. I wrote part of a book called the "Sacred Roll;" wrote it at the request of my leaders, in 1843. I then believed it to be true. I wrote it because Philerman Stewart said it was necessary to have quite a number of the members write. That is my certificate in the second part of the Sacred Roll, page 340. (Here a letter was produced by counsel for the Shakers, which was written by witness from Buffalo, N. Y., April 18th, 1840, to Hester Ann Adams; letter was read by the witness.)

I saw Catherine Lyon trod upon on the floor; she was hauled down by Hester Ann Adams, Betsy Hastings, and others. I did not suppose their intention was to injure her much. I did not see her for several days afterwards to my recollection; think I did not see her for several days.

During this excitement, David Parker was sent for several times, but the excitement was somewhat quieted before he came. The Elders thought it best to keep the excitement about where it was.

(Here Shaker counsel produced a handbill which had on it the witness' name, as one of a set of Shaker performers. Witness recognized the bill.)

I have performed upon the stage, to represent Shakerism. I was hired to give exhibitions of Shakerism; had nothing to do with getting up the bill. The man who hired us, wrote in the bill what he chose to, and we performed as well as we knew.

The Committee adjourned the hearing till Thursday evening,



Dec. 21st, in order that the counsel for the petitioners might attend the Supreme Court, which was to hold its session at Exeter.

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WEDNESDAY EVENING, Dec. 20th.

JOSIAH M. MAGOON.—I lived with the Shakers a year and a half; went in the fall of 1841, and left in the spring of 1843. I was in the North gathering family, where they first put the new converts; I knew nothing of the death of George A. Emery while I was there with the Shakers; I sometimes heard the screams of the children, but not often, as there were only four or five of them there, in that family.

Foster whipped a boy for uncleanness, very severely; the boy said he could not help it, so after keeping him six months, they sent him off into the world.

On account of public opinion, the Shakers keep Bibles in most of their rooms. I have frequently seen and heard Peter Foster open the Bible where he would read "The Lord said unto Moses," and then he would add, "Snuff that candle; Scat you bitch," &c.

I learned the views of the Shakers from Elder Towle. He told me that the Old Testament was the first dispensation; that Moses was the first mediator between God and the Jews. Law was binding upon the Jews only till Christ's first appearing. When Christ came, he was the Son of God. God was Power, which was the Father. Wisdom was the Mother. Christ was the second mediator. His Gospel was binding till Ann Lee came, and then it was abrogated. Former witnesses have stated correctly in relation to perfect submission to superiors. I knew of the use of unknown tongues; I had some gifts, whirling, &c. I learned some Indian songs; many. Ann Lee was the instrument to learn songs to me. I sung some of them to the Indians from whom they were said to come; they knew nothing of them; could not understand them. One letter often occurred which was not in their alphabet.

*Cross examined* by Mr. Perley.—I went to the Shakers to satisfy myself. Shakers told me that Washington, Samuel

Adams, and La Fayette were there ; that they came and joined them after their death. I had been to New-Hampton to school before I went there ; am a farmer by occupation.

JOSEPH H. GARLAND *re-called*.—When I lived at Enfield, there was a certain song which was sung a great deal. I recollect it ; 'tis as follows :

“ Of all my relations that ever I see,  
My own fleshy kindred are fartherest from me ;  
How ugly they look ; how distant they feel ;  
To hate them—despise them—increases my zeal.  
How ugly they look ; how distant they feel :  
To hate them—despise them—increases my zeal.”

Elder Beck pronounced this a very good song. At Enfield they have from six to thirty children in a family ; had a school-house to one family ; a good one. They had some fifty children at all the families. All Shakers are requested to sign the Covenant, when twenty-one years old.

Mr. Wells, at this stage of the proceeding, gave notice to Shakers to produce their Covenant and Order book.

SAMUEL GARLAND.—I reside in Lowell, and have lived there some twenty years ; have been a member of the City Council. I was with the Shakers twenty years ; went there when between eight and nine years old. My father joined, and took all the family with him except two sisters. The song which has just been repeated by witness, was sung when I was there. I remember of the investigation before the Legislature of this State, about twenty years ago. After that, it was said in the Society, that this song had better not be sung by children any more.

Three of my sisters went to the Shakers, and one is there now. My mother died there about two years ago. I was notified of her death by letter from William Willard. I asked David Parker to go to the burying-ground and show me the grave of my mother. He said it would be of no interest to him to go there. I made the same request of Elder Towle, and got nearly the same reply. I have never yet found where the grave of my mother is.

While I was with Shakers, I was one time going to Benjamin Sanborn's shop, who had been one of the Presiding Elders ;

saw him at the window, throwing a boy up and down; I hurried in and found the boy pretty badly used; when I went in, he put the boy into a closet.

There was a Winkley woman came there, who had one thousand dollars in money. There was a "gift" came, that all who had money must give it up. One of the Shakers afterwards told me, that this gift came solely to rob this old woman of her money.

I left first at the age of nineteen years. Dea. Winkley then gave me five crowns; was gone six months, and got sixty dollars; went back and gave up the money; then stayed four or five years; went away again and stayed six months, and then returned with one hundred and thirty dollars and gave that up. Then stayed four or five years; worked at blacksmithing. When I went away the last time, they gave me fifteen dollars in money. Once when I left, they put an old man's clothes upon me; the sleeves of the coat came down on my hands; and they told me *it was just in the fashion of the world*.

I was always taught to place implicit confidence in the leaders of the Society.

Joseph Carter was the name of the boy whom Benjamin Sanborn abused.

Tabitha Williams was so severely reprimanded for playing out of the window with a gentleman, that she fainted. It was done by the Elders.

John Libby, a boy who slept with me, had kept sighing all one afternoon. After we went to bed, I felt bunches as large as a chestnut where he said he had been whipped. Old Peter Ayers used to be called a heretic; he was turned out of the Society by himself. We were ordered to abstain from speaking to him, or having any intercourse with him.

*Cross examined* by Mr. Perley.—I have no recollection of ever seeing any stone at the grave of my mother. I went to visit the Shakers nearly a year after the death of my mother. When I was there David Parker asked me what I came there for, and said they would treat me accordingly. David said this when I first went there.



The first time I came away Dea. Winkley gave me five dollars; the second time, seven or eight, and the last time, fifteen and a vicious colt. Deacon said the colt was so ugly that he would kill somebody, and it was best to give it to Sam, as he had always been a good boy. The people who joined the Shakers were generally poor.

I once had conversation with David Parker about some road law suits, and congratulated him on his success, when he remarked that his *old hat* hung up in the Court House, was better evidence than anything that the world could procure. I thought the remark *meant* something.

HORACE FOLSOM.—Reside in Enfield, and have lived with the Shakers sixteen years; was ten years old when I went there. My first work was braiding whips; in the summer I did the chores. When I was old enough, I was put to the mechanical business. Left there last August; I was associate Elder about a year before I left; I remember of some instances of abuse while there.

I could not say that I was ever *instructed* to lie, directly or indirectly, or *told* to swear falsely; but such is the result of Shaker doctrine and education.

From childhood, I was instructed that all the world would be damned if they did not come in among the Shakers and acknowledge.

I gave my "testimony" to the Sacred Roll; it was called inspiration and was printed as such; all that I ever wrote was received as inspiration; there was really no inspiration about it; some of the "testimonies" to the Sacred Roll were altered by those who stood in place of God; mine was not altered much. What I wrote was considered about as good as any one there could write.

We had no amusements but sliding on the ice, and not then when we were as tall as a certain mark on the ceiling. Once had a Fox and Geese board; played a few games with it, and was church-mauled for it. I lived with the Shakers sixteen years; was sick only one season, when I had rheumatism from May till after haying season was over. When I left I was paid \$100, and had my own clothes.

*Cross examined* by Mr. Quincy.—The reason why I believed I was inspired, at the time, was because the Elders told me so. I had doubts, and used to communicate them to the Elders, and they told me these doubts were of the devil; but I did not believe them. Hester Ann Adams first waked me up to inspiration. I was then twenty-three years old; *about the same age as Hester Ann.*

I was appointed associate Elder in 1844; we abused those visionists; we said the devils got some of them so that they could not stand on their feet.

David Parker used to tickle my wife's knees, as she told me; I believe this to be a fact.

SAMUEL GARLAND *re-called*.—Deacon Francis Winkley spoke to me, at the time the petition of Mary Dyer was before the Legislature, in relation to putting down Mary Dyer. He said Mary Dyer must be put down if it cost a thousand dollars. One of the Elders told me not to look into her book. I was then in the Church Family. Dea. Winkley and the Elder are now both dead. *Adjourned.*

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THURSDAY EVENING, Dec. 21st, 1848.

SIMEON GARLAND.—Live now in Enfield; I went to live with the Shakers at Canterbury when four years old; after staying there eight years, I was carried away to Enfield, and stayed there till I was about twenty-three years old; was with the Shakers in all, nineteen years. A man, Elder Jones, came and said there was a gift for two of the boys to be carried to Enfield. Robert Wright and myself were selected; I left my father, mother, three sisters, and two brothers at Canterbury; none of my relations went with me. Samuel Garland of Lowell, who is a witness here, is my brother; I was never allowed to go to Canterbury to visit my mother, sisters, nor brothers, all the time I was at Enfield. After I left Shakers, went down to see them; I used frequently to ask to go to Canterbury, but was always refused. They used to tell me I must

labor out of my natural affections ; I used to go away and cry ; cry in the night. The Elders would call me a great booby for crying, because I had any regard for my relatives. Samuel came up once to see me, after about five years, but I was not allowed to see him alone, and not but little while at that. He was the only one of the family whom I saw for the eleven years.

The reason why I left, was, because Elder Blodget charged me with having a written correspondence with Aphia Holbrook ; a letter was found from her directed to me. I told him I never had had a word of private conversation with her in the world, and never had written a letter to her nor she to me, to my knowledge. He said it was revealed to him by God, that I had been corresponding with her. I knew that he lied, and so I left as soon as I could get ready to go. After I left Enfield, I went to Canterbury to see my sisters and mother ; I saw my mother and one sister ; two of them I did not see. I was told they did not wish to see me. Then I went to see my brothers, and spoke to one of the Trustees. He went out, returned, and told me that they did not wish to see me. I told him I had hired a horse and sleigh, and come over fifty miles, and I wanted to see *them* if *they* did not want to see *me*. He replied, that they said I had gone away and left the way of God, and did not seem like a brother to them, and they did not wish to see me.

From my knowledge, old people are treated rather hard. William Sanborn, who lived there all the time I was there, I think was treated hardly, and has been since. He was excommunicated, and with another old man was put down back, in a poor old shop, and his food carried to him. I saw the old man after death ; there was a black and blue spot on his forehead, as if he had been struck by a stick. His food was dark colored bread and porridge ; he complained to me, and said he had been begging of the Trustees to let him have an egg ; he was then about seventy years old. The Shakers said he fell from his chair upon the stove ; hence the black mark on his forehead. If he had fallen from his chair as he then laid, he would have struck the other side of his head. Sanborn was a very laborious and strong man ; when I last knew him, he was



very feeble. He continued to work till within two or three years of his death; he died about a year ago. Jacob Howard lived with him; he is still alive; I saw Howard about a year ago, when Sanborn lay a corpse.

*Cross examined* by Mr. Perley.—I can just remember when I first went to the Shakers. When I left, I was paid \$50, and a year after had \$25 in cloth and clothing.

I was in the habit of seeing my relatives, while in Canterbury; we first lived in a small house by ourselves; then went down to the Libby family; think that father and one brother went with me; think I was there when carried to Enfield.

Aphia Holbrook was a niece of Otis Holbrook; she came to live in the second family while I was there; don't remember when I first became acquainted with her. I left about a month after charged with corresponding with her; left when about twenty years old; the rules of the Society do not permit young men to leave.

I had some doubts about the truth of Shakerism, but my faith was shaken when falsely charged by the Elder, by means of a revelation from God. I have lived in Grantham and Enfield since I left; since, I was married; Sanborn lived in one end of the old shop, and Howard in the other end. Sanborn and Howard lived in the old shop many years, and Sanborn used to complain of his treatment and food before I saw it. I never saw his food till some four years ago. He was called deranged by some; the Shakers called him crazy; I did not call him insane, and you would not have called him so if you had heard him talk. He borrowed ten dollars of me, at one time, to come to Concord and be doctored; he wanted to go to Manchester to see a doctor there; let him have five dollars at another time. The Shakers had three or four thousand dollars of Sanborn's money, besides his work all his life.

When I first left the Shakers, they refused to give me anything, but Mr. Willis and Dea. David Howe went with me to see them, and they finally agreed to give me what they did give me, as I have before stated. I had never signed the covenant as I think. (Question by Mr. Wells.) The Libby family is a branch of the Shaker family.

My father went from Pittsfield or Epsom; he died at the Shakers, and I did not hear of his death till about a month after.

SAMUEL GARLAND *again called*.—When my brother Simeon was at Canterbury to see me, I did not know it; it was some days before I learned that he had been there; I was not informed by any one, of his being there, and never sent any message to him that I did not wish to see him; I should have been very glad to have seen him.

I went to watch in a Shaker family with the sick; the Elder of that family was talking with Dr. Corbett about the sickness; it was a very sickly time; the Elder told Dr. Corbett that Nathaniel Merrill, an old man above sixty years old, who was sick, would be a good subject to make experiments upon. The Elder's name was Lougee. When I was down east with an uncle, the Shakers told me that my folks had all joined them and I must go too; I went; at first we worked and lived by ourselves; after awhile a gift came that we must all go into the Shaker family and give up property. My father had some young cattle, two or three cows, and other personal property.

While I was there, the family was called together, and all who had heard Ann Lee say anything, wrote it down; it made a pamphlet. One of these testimonies was, that Ann Lee had seen backsliders in hell, with large furrows worn down their cheeks by weeping.

The effect of Shakerism has been always to break up families, and produce trouble. There were two sisters of my father's family who did not join the Shakers. They used to come within a mile, and then send for us; we were prohibited from seeing them unless in the presence of other Shakers.

There is a man at the Shakers now, who carried quite an amount of property there, and his wife is now at work in the factory at Lowell, to get her living.

There was an Evans family who joined the Shakers; he left and wanted to get his children away; the Shakers would not let them go; he finally came with the neighbors; the messenger came in the night to the family I was in.

*Cross examined* by Mr. Perley.—I went to live with the Shakers about the year 1800; was then eight or nine years old; am now fifty-six. My father lived by himself till there was a gift came that all must live together and give up the property.

I never was sent to school a day while at the Shakers; only went to school a few evenings; I could hardly read writing when I left there.

MRS. MARY CUMMINGS.—My maiden name was Mary McGrath; I was born in Dorchester, N. H., and married Edward Cummings, in 1827; I am the mother of eight children, five of whom are now living; my husband and children are all living with the Shakers; my husband is here to-night; I now live at Sanbornton Bridge; and since my husband has been at the Shakers I have worked out in different places to get a livelihood. My husband joined the Society four years ago last March, and moved his family there at the same time. At that time we owned a farm in Hebron, which was sold in October following, for \$1475,00; we had, also, a horse, carts, wagon, two cows a heifer, &c., &c. Mr. Cummings took all his property to the Shakers. My oldest son was fifteen years old; another ten or eleven; a third, eight or nine. My youngest child was seven months old when I moved there. When I married, my husband was a member of the Congregational Church in Groton; afterwards he renounced the churches joined the Osgoodites, and preached about, which business he followed about three years. He then joined the Shakers. After he told me he was going to join the Shakers, two of the brethren came to visit me and tried to induce me to join them: afterwards the same two brethren and two sisters came to visit me. They told me I had better join; that if I did not I should be left alone; that if I would go I might have my children; otherwise they would be taken from me. My husband told me that if I would go, I should have a house by myself and the youngest children. That if I did not go with him, he would take the children away from me, sell the farm and the rest of the property, leave me alone and advertise me in the public print. I could do no other way; so I consented to go. After I got there they kept no one of their promises. I was put into a little building, called the



centre building; my children were all taken from me, except my babe which was seven months old; and in three months from that time my little babe, only ten months old, was taken from me. At first I was permitted to sleep with it, for a few nights; but soon that was refused me, and I was forbid to go at all into the house where my children were. Since I left the Shakers, I have been to see my children three or four times. They were brought into a room—the boys with one of the brethren, and the girls with one of the sisters. I was once refused permission to see where my children slept, and was once permitted to see. When I urged and besought them to let me see my children, I was told that the gospel required me to labor out of my natural affections.

I never signed the deed conveying away our farm till after I went to the Shakers. John Lyon, a leading Elder, urged me to sign the deed; told me that it would be for my interest to sign it. My husband brought me the deed and requested me to sign; then Lyon and the sisters persuaded me; and by means of persuasion and threats I signed it.

My husband gave me five dollars, when I was there, about three weeks ago, which is all the money I have received from him since he joined the Shakers, four years ago. I have supported myself by my own labor, since I left.

*Cross examined*, by Mr. Perley.—John Lyon, Samuel Elkins, Charlotte Chaffin, and Amelia Irish, came to visit us; Lyon and Elkins came first. Husband went to the Shakers in March, and took my oldest son in July.

William Wheeler was the name of the Osgoodite with whom my husband went around; Beach and others were with him. He was gone one-half or two-thirds of the time, and when at home did not do much towards supporting the family. He used to write against the churches; he was prosecuted, fined, and paid it with a cow.

I moved into the family with the Shakers. A house was provided for me and the family. I inquired of my husband and the Shakers what I had better do? They advised me to go in with the family, and I did.

I went their the ninth of October, and left the last of February, following.

FRIDAY EVENING, Dec. 22d.

JAMES M. OTIS *re-called*.—They have two manuscript books of orders in the Shaker Society; one called the “Holy Orders of God;” the other, the “Holy Laws of God.” These are in the Church family, at Canterbury, N.H.; they are the general rules and regulations of the Society. The Covenant is a separate matter; a manuscript, as are also the others which I have just mentioned. These orders are read to the members of the Society from these books.

DANIEL GREEN.—I live in Hopkinton; have neither father or mother; I used to live with the Shakers; went there five years ago the tenth of last March. I left the fourteenth day of last January. My mother died before I went to the Shakers, and my father while I was there. I lived at the first, or Church Family.

I have been whipped by James Brackett, William Dennett and Henry Durgin. They made me take off all my clothes even to my shirt, and then whipped me with a cowhide. Brackett and Dennett both did this. Brackett once whipped me so severely that he had to carry me home. This was done down at the Tenter Hooks, a quarter of a mile from the village. The reason of his whipping me was, that another boy threw a stone and killed a duck, and it was laid to me, and I denied it. Brackett had the care of the boys; he drew blood on me with the rawhide. Dennett once whipped me for running away to Barnstead; Peter Foster brought me back; Dennett then whipped me, with all my clothes off till the blood run; he did it with a rawhide; Henry Durgin once struck me over the head with a broom handle before it was turned, and broke it in two, because I threw a stone at a cow; I was once whipped by Durgin for only going out of the door yard. After Brackett whipped me at the Tenter Bars, he told me to dress myself and go home. I told him I could not and he carried me home. I have seen Willian Dennett give James Shepard, a boy seven years old, a lesson to get, while they were gone to meeting, and if he did not get it Dennett would whip him. I had no friends to come to see me; had some relations living at Nashua, whom

I desired the Shakers to let me go and see, but was always refused; I was obliged to get up in the morning, at half past four or five o'clock. I did not do any thing for the first three or four months I was there; afterwards worked at planting.

*Cross examined*, by Mr. Perley.—There were twenty-three boys, when I went there, and nine when I left; James Shepard was the boy whom Dennett whipped for not getting his lesson; he was seven years old. I attended school there four winters. The boys have a "Caretaker;" James Brackett was in that place when I went there; he remained there two or three years, and was succeeded by Wm. Dennett and Henry Durgin; Dennett whipped me so as to draw blood, when I ran away. Brackett whipped Henry Pratt so hard that he complained to the Elders, or some one else complained to them, so that Brackett was removed and Dennett took his place; Dennett whipped me twice with a rawhide; once after I ran away; I don't remember what he whipped me for the second time. I recollect *now*; it was because I and two other boys went after pond lillies without leave; he whipped us all; I was ten years old at this time; was whipped in the boys' shop. When there I studied Mitchell's Geography, Sanborn's Grammar, and Smith's Arithmetic. I read in a Manners Book, Worcester's Reader, &c. I carried a Bible there, but never saw it afterwards; James Brackett took it and I never again saw it. I saw other Bibles there, and could have used them if I chose. After Brackett beat me, I told him I would not go home, and so he carried me home. He whipped me, so I could not walk, which was the reason of his carrying me home. I have lived with John Nealey, in Hopkinton since I left the Shakers. I gave James Brackett my Bible, soon after I went there. I read some in the Bible, while there of my own notion; no one enjoined it upon me. The first class read in the Testament in the morning, but I was not in that class, so I did not read in the Testament; that was the only class which used it—I have read the Testament through of my own accord.

JAMES WHITCHER.—I have lived with the Shakers sixteen years; was fifteen years old when I went there. My grandfather once owned the farm where the Shakers now live; he



became a Shaker ; my father lived at shakers. My sisters lived at the Shakers about 22 years each. All I received for my services for 16 years was \$100 ; my sisters have never received any thing. My father became poor and was going upon the town, and as I had just left the Shakers and had nothing, I spoke to them to give him some help to keep him off the town, They refused on the ground that the property was all in common at the Shakers and they consequently had nothing to give.

Latterly they invoice the property that is brought there, by those who go to live with them, so that if they do not sign it away by Covenant or otherwise, they can tell how much belongs to them. My father has lived in Canterbury and Northfield ; he is now about seventy years old ; poor, and unable to support himself. He applied to me for assistance. I then had nothing, and went to Elder Johnson and David Parker for assistance, after speaking to my sisters. Parker declined doing any thing, and said the old man might go on the town. He should then pay his share in taxes. I asked him if he would pay this same money which he would have to pay in taxes. He said " no ;" that if his own mother became poor he would let her go on the town. When I first went there, I drove horses ; learned the blacksmith's, cooper's, and hatter's trades. For eight years I was sole Trustee in the North Family, and did business with the world.

I was taught that those who left the Society would be eternally damned. After I made up my mind to leave, I told them of it. Johnson, David Parker, and sisters all talked to me, and finally said, that if I would leave and go to hell, I might. David Parker said that if I was prospered he should think there was no God ; been prospered since I left, pretty well.

*Cross examined* by Mr. Perley.—I signed the Covenant when I was about twenty-one years old. This is an instrument protecting the Society against claims for services. I never believed in visions, revelations, and inspirations, and told my uncle so. I did believe in the inspirations and revelations of Ann Lee, when I first went there. I believed some of the Shakers were sincere, a few ; thought my uncle so. I left six years ago. I learned to whirl some. I tried to learn to speak in unknown tongues, but could not do much at it. " In danc-

ing, for instance, taking the "Double Shuffle," *I used to think that I couldn't be beat*" They used to whip the boys some in one family. I never punished a child while I was there, nor did I ever treat one cruelly. I have heard leading men in the Society express doubts in relation to their faith. I heard David Parker tell Israel Sanborn, that if it had not been for him, (David) he (Sanborn) would have been in the State's Prison before this. I heard of the death of the Emery boy, soon after it occurred; he was a very pretty, interesting looking boy, as much so as most any boy that I ever saw. He was killed a year or so before I left; he was five or six years old. I now live in Hooksett; have lived in Meredith and Pembroke. I have been at the Shakers, at Canterbury, some half dozen times *since* I left.

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SATURDAY, A. M., Dec. 23d.

DOLLY W. MANNING.—I have had three husbands; the name of the second was Emery, by whom I had two sons; one was named George A. Emery. He died July 27th, 1840; this was the day he died, or the day he was buried. He was five years and three months old when he died. He went there to the Shakers, in June, 1839. He was a very interesting child—bright and pretty; everybody, almost, spoke of him as such; he had a very gentle disposition. I was at Lowell, at work in the mills, at the time. I was sent for; went up, and arrived at night; stopped at the office of the family. He was buried at eight o'clock the next morning. I saw his face in the coffin, down to his chin and back to his temple. I was standing still, and had been looking steadfastly into the coffin for some time, and Dr. Thomas Corbett was standing near, and remarked that the fall had caused the blood to settle. I had said nothing, and was looking steadily into the coffin. I made no reply. There was a red streak on the right side of the face, wide up by the hair, and grew smaller as it passed down the face towards the chin.

We then left the corpse and went to the meeting-room. The Shakers formed a procession, and I followed in the rear, after

the Shakers. There was not a word said to me, at that time, that the boy had been whipped. I live at Goffstown, sixteen miles from here. A Shaker called to see me one day very recently—since this hearing before this Committee commenced; his name is James Kaime; he came early in the morning before sunrise. He said he came to learn what the Shakers told me at the time I was there at the funeral of my boy. He said, “Did not they tell you that the child had been whipped?” He said, “The child had been whipped and had had a fall, but they gave him brandy and laudanum, which was more the cause of his death, than either the whipping or the fall.” The Shakers told me, when I was there, that the boy fell upon a stone and struck his head and only gasped once or twice; that they gave him a little milk; he only tasted it and died. I asked him, “What did the Shakers send you here for?” He said, “I only just called to see what they told you when you were there.” He said he wanted to know what they told me.

*Cross examined* by Mr. Perley.—When I went to the Shakers I took my little boy, two years old, with me. I think they told me the boy died the night before I arrived there. I was in all the families, and remained there till the next morning.

William Willard called at Lowell for me, to tell me that my child was dead. He said they told him the child fell on a stone. He said they would tell me the particulars when I arrived there. When I arrived there, they told me the child fell on a stone, while down in the pasture with Ephraim Dennett. I took it for granted, then, that what the Shakers told me was true. William Willard merely told me that the child was dead, and went immediately after the coach to carry me to the cars. There was no time for him to tell me the particulars, as I had to hurry to fix, and get to the cars in season.

BENJAMIN MANNING.—I am husband to the witness who has just testified. A Shaker came to our house last Monday evening about six o'clock. The man's name, as I afterwards learned, was James Kaime; I was going after oil at the store; met the Shaker at the door; he asked me where I lived, and if it would be convenient for me to keep him through the night. I then mistrusted something, as I had received frequent



visits from them for the last two or three years. He said he wanted to see my wife alone a few minutes. I told him he could not see her alone, but I would go with him; he then remarked that he supposed I knew she had a child die at the Shakers; I told him no, for she had not then told me of this child which died there. The next morning he came and had the conversation with my wife, as she has testified, and then he left towards Concord.

MRS. MANNING *re-called*.—I went to the Shakers to live, and carried my boy, George A. Emery, there; I cannot exactly state how long I was there; I think I went there in June, and left in February following. A gentlemen whom do not know summoned me here.

JAMES WHITCHER *re-called*.—James Kaime, whom the witness stated called upon her to find out what the Shakers told her, in relation to her boy's death, is a Shaker at the Church Family, and has been present during this examination, and is here now. My father left the Shakers forty years ago.

Mr. Wells here stated to the Committee, that he intended to close the examination on the part of the petitioners. He had other witnesses in attendance, and many more at some distance, who might be summoned; and if the Session could be protracted, and the patience of the Committee would hold out, he would go in and drag out to light the whole of this hidden and festering mass of Shaker corruption. But the Session was very near its close, and the examination had continued during the evening, and part of the time during the day, for nearly two weeks, and when he saw the deep interest which was felt in relation to the fate of this petition, he regretted exceedingly, to be obliged to stop here. He knew nothing of this proceeding till he came to Concord, only two days previous to the commencement of the examination; he consequently had no time to examine into the merits and magnitude of the case beforehand; he therefore had very little time—unassisted as he was by any other counsel—to get together witnesses from different parts of the State. But however great his regret at being obliged to rest the case here, still, circumstances compelled him to adopt this course; but he had hardly intro-

duced a tith of the testimony which he had intended to present, had not the Session nearly reached its close.

But before fully closing the evidence on the part of the petitioners, he would make a motion that the Committee issue a *Subpœna duces tecnm* to David Parker of Canterbury, and Caleb M. Dyer of Enfield, to bring before the Committee all their books and manuscripts, laws and orders, by which the Society of Shakers, at Canterbury and Enfield, are governed and regulated.

Mr. Perley objected. He took the ground that the Committee had not the constitutional power to compel the Shakers, or any other religious society in the State, to bring before the Committee all their manuscripts, books, &c., for the inspection of this or any other tribunal. Mr. Norris, the chairman of the Committee took the same view of it.

Mr. Wells said that the petitioners came up before the Legislature, and respectfully asked them to enact a law, which would protect our community from the injustice and outrages which had been perpetrated upon many of them, and which the Shakers are still continuing to practice.

The Shakers themselves were not upon trial before the Legislature—they had been arraigned by no one—but they had seen fit to come forward and resist the action of this Legislative body, with three of the most able counsel that this or any other State can produce. Their counsel, in the earlier part of this proceeding, proffered their books and manuscripts to the Committee, but now they see fit to withhold them. It is for the purpose of bringing them forward that I have made this motion—and the Committee have clearly the right, agreeable to all precedent, to bring before them all persons and all papers which will have any tendency to throw light upon this matter.

This Committee have the same power that belongs to any Court at Law, to compel the attendance of witnesses, and bring forward papers.

Those in favor of issuing the subpœna were—Asa Fowler, A. L. Hersey, Walter Ingalls, F. F. Lane, E. R. Locke, Geo. Y. Sawyer. Those opposed were—Joshua Atwood, Levi Chamberlain, Moses Norris.

## REPLY OF THE SHAKERS.

MONDAY EVENING, Dec. 25th.

Mr. Quincy furnished each member of the Committee with two books.

N. W. WESTGATE, Esq.—I reside in Enfield, about one and a half miles from the Shakers, and have lived near them for about twenty years.

I have been one of the Superintending School Committee in Enfield for several years; have frequently been at the Shakers. They have a very good school; I think as good as any in town; they teach the same studies, and use the same books as in other schools now. Their schools were orderly and well governed; children clean and well dressed. The school full as well forward as others in town; rather thought it had the preference in that respect. I have never known any instance of severity.

I know nothing but that they are an industrious and temperate people. I formerly knew William L. Sanborn, who died at the Shakers; knew him for many years; till his decease. I could specify many particular acts or declarations of his, going to show his insanity. I know nothing of his way of living previous to his death. I think I saw him six months or a year before his death.

*Cross examined* by Mr. Wells—I think I have visited the school five or six times in all, during the twenty years; have been there with friends who wished to see the Shakers.

I never spent much time at the Shakers, except when I was counsel for them in a suit which they had with Mr. Willis, of Lebanon. I am an attorney, and have been counsel for the Shakers in a number of cases; quite a number; can't tell how many.

Mr. Sanborn applied to me, some eight or ten years ago, to get his property from the Shakers. I did not do anything for him, but recommended him to Mr. Quincy. His claim was rather stale—forty or fifty years old, I think. He claimed to be entitled to property by heirship; he claimed a farm in town as having belonged to his father.



DR. JOHN CLOUGH.—I am a physician, and reside in Enfield, about a mile from the Second Family, and have been there twenty years. Have been a practicing physician twenty-three years, and have practiced in the Shaker families, more or less, for twenty-two years.

I have been frequently called there; sometimes daily; have prescribed for the old, the young, and the middle aged of both sexes; by night as well as by day; sometimes I have had occasion to stay all night.

They have a physician of their own, and have always had since I have been there. Have been called to all grades of sickness; have had access to all the places where the sick were; they generally have them all in one house; sometimes in other places. It has been left to me how often I should come. Their nursing I consider good; think it superior to that of some other places. I know nothing why their attention to the sick was not kind; never had occasion to find fault with it.

I was acquainted with Wm L. Sanborn; have been called to prescribe for him; saw him two or three weeks before his death. He was in a small building, back of the other buildings; he was then unwell and did not want a great deal of food; don't remember who had charge of him. The room he was in, when I last saw him, was tolerably comfortable; not so good as some. In my judgment he was partially insane.

I once went to him in Manchester, and persuaded him to return home; he was a Botanic or Thompsonian physician.

A number of years since I was a member of the Superintending School Committee, and visited the Shaker schools, both in summer and winter; character of the schools were good; children well taught; the schools rather better than the majority of schools.

I have never known any ill treatment of children or the aged. I remember that the scarlet fever prevailed there, and there were thirty or forty cases; think only two deaths. The fever was mostly confined to children from twelve to fifteen years of age and under.

*Cross examined.*—I couldn't tell how old William L. Sanborn was when he died; he was subject to rheumatism, dropsy, and

liver complaint. I never visited him but once. I don't recollect as any one was there taking care of him; I don't think any one was with me. I believe he was partially insane; he considered himself a physician; had strong notions as to the knowledge of medicine. He was a very superior man in intellect, in many respects; he remembered dates very well. I think his own history of himself made him insane.

He was at one end of the building, and another was at the other end. I have known two children born at the Shakers; in Shaker families near by, but not in among them. I was never called to administer in any cases of pregnancy among the Shakers. Jerub Dyer is the Shaker physician; he practices in all the families. I remember of only two cases of cancer among the Shakers. One Lydia Merrill, a cancer of the breast; the other, Polly Slack, cancer of the breast; don't remember of any other cases now; there may have been others, but I don't remember them. Polly Slack was seventy-four years old, and Lydia Merrill about fifty when the operation was performed. The latter was never married. I do remember of being called to administer to persons insane among the Shakers; don't now recollect of more than two—Sanborn and Dickey. Remember Judith Sanborn also insane. I may have prescribed for more. Reuben Dickey was insane there a number of weeks; don't know what produced it. I did prescribe for Ebenezer Williams a number of times; not for insanity; he did not live with the Shakers; worked by and for himself. He attended meeting with them. After paying his debts, the Shakers had his property; died five or six years ago. He was said to have lived with the Shakers from childhood; he left his property to the Shakers, by will; he enjoyed it as his own during life.

Dickey is now with the Shakers, and well for aught I know; is now about fifty years of age. Judith Sanborn was insane; don't know as she or William Sanborn ever informed me that their parents were insane. After his insanity, Dickey enjoyed tolerable good health, so far as I know.

The Shakers are a school district by themselves; have a male teacher in the winter. and a female in the summer.

REV. WILLIAM PATRICK.—I reside in Canterbury. I was settled in 1803 as Pastor of the Congregational Church. I was dismissed in 1843, after a little over forty years ministration. I lived about five miles from the Shakers. When I was settled there was no special law requiring the schools to be visited. I first visited their schools three or four years after my settlement, and continued to visit them during the rest of my ministry. Mr. Witcher was one of the class first examined by me. I generally visited their schools twice in winter and once in summer. I have visited them once since 1843. In the branches of science required by law, Shaker schools have compared with other schools in town. The higher branches, such as Logic, Rhetoric, Geology, &c., were not taught in their schools.

The deportment of the children was generally decorous. Within the last thirty years the Shakers have appeared desirous of having their schools examined—I visited the Shakers a few weeks since; met the children assembled for that purpose, but not in the Schools. I don't remember as we ever examined them in the Scriptures. Frequently found classes in school reading in the Testament.

*Cross examined.*—I was invited to visit the Shakers by a letter from David Parker and also one from Mr. Foster. I was there afterwards, and the invitation was renewed, and a day fixed for me to come. The Shaker schools were not so good when I first visited there as they are now. They had no school house fifteen years ago. I remember of seeing children there who came from Boston. I cannot tell whether the good readers I found there came from Boston or not. I cannot testify that the Shakers have kept a regular school. I cannot testify that I ever knew of a class in History there. As a general thing, when children were examined, the teachers selected the places for them to read. Sometimes I used to put them back. I conversed several times with the Elders on the subject of introducing Geography, before it was introduced. It was introduced some ten or fifteen years ago. I remember there was once a Globe in the school, but I never was requested to examine a child upon it. I never prayed in their schools, for I knew that they were opposed to prayer.



DR. JOSIAH CROSEY.—I reside in Manchester, and have been a Practicing Physician thirty-two years. I lived, at one time, twelve miles from the Canterbury Shakers twelve years. I have been in Manchester five years. I have been called to the Shakers frequently for consultation, for the last ten years, but I have never done any regular business there. The care and attendance on the sick, so far as I know, is very good, better than we generally get in country families. I have visited patients in all their families. I have had an acquaintance with the Shakers for thirty years;—been in the habit of calling there. In 1826 or 1827 I went into a school, in the middle family, with some ladies; was favorably impressed with it. The scholars read and spelt together simultaneously. I don't remember what was taught;—the teacher and scholars were females. The Shakers have frequently brought patients to me; they were adults with the exception of one girl.

*Cross examined.*—Our visit at the school was accidental. I only heard a small class of girls read. The Shakers take better care of the sick than people in general, because they have those there who are acquainted with sickness; their rooms are cleanly. There have been cases of scrofulous tumors among them. I have been there more frequently to perform surgical operations.

I saw one small child at the Shakers in 1838 or 1839. I was consulted in that case some two months previous to the birth of the child. I was afterwards called upon at the birth of the child. The mothers name was Arlin. I got there about eight o'clock in the evening, and slept at the office that night. I was called on in the night, after the birth, by the Elders. They did not request the birth of the child to be kept a secret, but I requested them to do so, because I was afraid it would implicate my character. They were for letting it be known. The child was stillborn. I have borrowed money of the Shakers; last year, of David Parker; have had the promise of more; I am still indebted to them. I do not wish to state the amount. I have never seen or known any thing of the mother of the child since. I did not examine the child to see if there were marks on it. I do not generally examine stillborn children. The mother was a good deal reduced. Dr, Corbett told me,

when he came up to see me the second time that the patient was violently sick with the *inflammation of the bowels*. I had not been consulted about the case for two months before. I have not mentioned the circumstance of this stillborn child to any man, unless to Wm. Willard or Samuel Garland. I never told any man that Dr. Corbett came to me, and I prescribed, and soon returned and told him it was a case that required my personal attention. I never told any man living that the Shakers came into my room and requested me to keep the affair secret.

After I got through with my business in the sick room, Dr. Corbett and the Ministry, David Parker and four or five others came into my chamber at the office. Their object seemed to be to consult in regard to what should be done. I don't remember what any body said except David Parker, who wished to have the whole matter published in the Patriot. I advised them to keep it a secret, as my character might be implicated. That if it became known, then the facts might be published. David Parker afterwards requested me to write the facts, and make oath to them, so that they might be used in case of my death. I did so. Dr. Corbett first consulted me for a case of the *dropsy*; two months afterwards he came and said she had a *severe cholic or inflammation of the bowels*. I told him it was pregnancy, and needed my personal attention. He had been previously treating it as a case of cholic or inflammation of the bowels. I was never consulted in any other case of this kind.

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TUESDAY EVENING, Dec. 26th.

SAMUEL BRONSON.—I am seventy-seven years old. I can't see or hear very well; I have been blind about twelve years; I live with the North Family of Shakers, in Enfield. About twenty-seven years since I finished off with the works of the world. When I joined the Shakers, I had about \$1800. It was required, when I joined, that I should divide it among my family. I gave \$300 to my wife, \$150 to each of the children, and kept \$600 myself. Out of this I paid \$130 for a small piece of land adjoining the Shakers. Sometimes I have paid



out a little for the benefit of the Shaker family. I have a little minute of, and obligation for some of this property. I have it with me. (Paper produced.) "Due Samuel Bronson from C. M. Dyer, May 1st, 1846, \$375.

(Signed,) C. M. DYER."

When I settled, interest was allowed on account. This obligation was given to me about May, 1846, when I had a settlement with Dyer. When I divided my property, five of my children were Shakers; one not of the Shakers; my wife was then there; she died three years ago. I suppose she gave or left her share of the property to the Shaker family. I have spent the interest of my money, chiefly. I have not been able to do much of any work since I was blind, for the last twelve years.

*Cross examined.*—I first let C. M. Dyer have \$50 in Lebanon bills, about twelve years ago. The next business I had with him, I lent \$260 or \$270 to a man in Hartford, and Dyer took the note and mortgage deed to secure it in his own name; afterwards the man settled it with Dyer. The land I have bought I have conveyed to the Trustees of the Shaker Society. The money which I gave my five children, was given by them to the Shakers. I gave the money to C. M. Dyer, when I joined the Shakers, and he divided it to the children, and they afterwards gave it to the Shakers. I never signed but one Covenant; I never signed the Church Covenant. Four of my children have left the Shakers; all boys. The oldest was Elijah; he was of the world, and never joined. John was next; he was twenty-five or twenty-six years old when he left; they gave him, I understand, a horse and sleigh, and some money. I don't know how much any of the children had when they left. I have slept alone, in a room a little distance from the dwelling-house. I prefer it, because it is more still. I eat, when in the family, at a table by myself; I prefer it, because they can wait upon me better.

JOHN S. FOSTER.—I lived with the Shakers about thirty-three years; left in September, 1839. Zuba Arlin lived with the Shakers at the time I was there; she had a child, of which I suppose I was the father. Dr. Crosby was called on the oc-



casion of the birth of the child. I was excommunicated by the Shakers the next day after the child was born; I married the lady in about six weeks afterwards. There was something said to me by the ministry; they said that it was not possible to conceal it or cover it up, and I must leave. I think my wife and myself were treated kindly by the Shakers. I have no knowledge of any thing of that kind occurring during the thirty-three years I was there, except my own case.

*Cross examined.*—The intercourse had been going on between me and this woman for above a year. I was an associate Elder in the Middle Order, and had been in that office about ten years; I was accustomed to preach sometimes; I had not preached for seven or eight months before the birth of the child; had not preached in the Church for seven or eight months; preached some in private families. I cannot tell when I first knew this woman was with child; I did not know of it till about the time the child was born. The Shakers did not tell me it could not be kept secret, because Dr. Crosby would not keep it secret; it was not intimated that the Shakers wished to keep it a secret. I went to my father's the next day, and have lived within two or three miles of the Society ever since. I have retained my Shaker faith. They gave me \$100 when I left, and afterwards gave me some more; they also gave me some clothes; about \$100 worth. They brought me pork, butter, cheese, &c., when my father was sick. My wife had better health after the birth of this child, than before; she had been troubled with the asthma previous to that event.

I only meant that I left the next day when I said I was excommunicated. My wife had been there thirty-three years when she left. They gave her five dollars in money, and some clothing.

DR. R. P. J. TENNEY.—I reside in Pittsfield, ten miles from the Shakers, and have been practicing physician seventeen years; I have practiced in the family of Shakers, at Canterbury, for ten years. For the first five years I was there only occasionally; for the last five years, I have visited them frequently; last year I was there fifteen or twenty times; year before about thirty times. The sick have always been well

taken care of; they have good nursing, and other necessaries in abundance. I have frequently been called there in the night, and have stayed all night, sometimes; have been there at all times of day and night. I never saw any cases of ill treatment of children or of the aged. Never known of any cases similar to Mr. Foster's.

*Cross examined.*—There was a woman of the name of Abigail Garland, who died there at the Church Family; she died of an ovarian tumor. I have not known of any cases of cancer; I have been called there in several cases of inflammation of the bowels; several cases of pulmonary disease. I recollect only one case of insanity; that was a female by the name of Tripure; she was insane several months, but is now well; she was about twenty-five when she was insane. The lady who died with a tumor was about sixty.

JOSEPH M. HARPER.—I reside in Canterbury, five miles from the Shakers, and have lived there most of the time for forty years. I commenced practicing as a physician thirty-eight years ago. I have been Selectman, and Superintending School Committee. I went to practice with the Shakers about twenty years, but have not been in practice for the last twenty-two years. I used to visit their families frequently, and thought their sick were well cared for, as well as in the best of families. I never knew any case similar to Foster's in the course of my practice there. I visited their schools for some twenty years in all. The Shaker teachers were examined like other teachers; their school-house was built in 1823. Soon after the school-house was built, the Committee recommended the study of Geography, and in the course of two or three years it was introduced. Their schools generally appeared pretty well; scholars appeared pretty well. They did not study many branches; in the branches which they attended, they appeared about as well as schools in general.

I have never known any case of ill treatment of the aged or of children.

JOHN LYON.—I reside in Enfield, and am an Elder in the North Family of Shakers. I was born in Holden, Mass.; joined the Shakers with my parents when four and a half years



old, and am now sixty-three years of age. There are three families at Enfield, the North, Second, and Church Families. The North Family, where I am, is called the Gathering Family.

We believe that Christ is not a person, but that he is a Spirit, and that Spirit made its second appearance in Ann Lee. The Spirit first appeared in the male line, as the only mediator between God and man, and the only means by which we can have access to God. He then appeared again in the person of Ann Lee, which revived the same conditions and requirements that Jesus did when on earth. The only means of discipleship or union to God, now, is through her; yet Christ is the head of the Church. We believe the Bible to be given through inspiration, to preserve a knowledge of God. We predicate our belief on the Bible or Scriptures. We believe that God has the same power and means to communicate himself to man that he ever had; and that revelations have been, from time to time, since Christ's appearance, made in Ann Lee. We deny that the Elders are considered as God; I was never instructed so to consider them; never have so instructed others. The power of forgiving sins was delegated, by Christ, to his followers. Elders have power to forgive sins, as God's order; in acknowledging sins to the Elders, we acknowledge God, and receive forgiveness from Him through them. We inculcate to speak the truth on all occasions, whatever may be the consequences; there is no exception to this to my knowledge, in all the instructions I have known to be given. I read the Bible through before I was six years old, and it has been my delight ever since; it is in free use among the Shakers, and its use is inculcated. We never inculcate the extermination of natural affection till they first get it. We go no farther than the Author of the Gospel. We teach love and good will to all mankind, and not to hate any. We believe natural affection came from God, but was *corrupted and poisoned at the fall*, and it is only the *poison* we wish to extract.

All that was ever taught or extended to me was kindness in regard to children, and I have always inculcated the same. I never whipped or struck a child in my life, and never saw one whipped in our Society.



*Cross examined.*—Confessions are made to the Elders, and if confession is made to them, the sin is forgiven. No notice is given to the one who commits the sin, but as soon as he has confessed to the Elders, then it is instantly forgiven. It is inculcated that children should always follow the lead; that complaints should be made to the Elders. I have frequently declared—spoken—by inspiration, but I never wrote by it. I believe in the gift of unknown tongues. I have known inspired females. The Holy Roll is direct inspiration. The Holy Orders are the same. If persons disobey the Lead they are reprobates, and if they persist in disobeying, they are excommunicated and eternally lost. No complaint ever came to me of the abuse of children. It is some thirty-two years since I have had any immediate control of children.

When members first join, we give them time, and then require them to sign the Agreement. They next sign the Covenant if they choose. The signing the Agreement does not, in any event, pledge the property or the use of it to the Society. The property does not rest in the Shakers in any event, unless they sign the Covenant; it does not then if it is inventoried; they may put in their property or not when they sign it. The Agreement only covers the services of the Candidate; not the property at all, in any event. The Agreement and Covenant are the same, both in Enfield and Canterbury. If the property is inventoried, it may be taken back, unless there are incidental losses.

The Elders are nominated by the Holy Anointed. It is forbidden that any one should speak or think against the Elders; it is enjoined upon all to follow their Lead submissively. I have frequently inspected letters of males and females to be sent out of the Society. They were brought voluntarily; I know of no *special* order requiring the inspection of letters. If letters are sent without the inspection of the Elders, I know of no authority to prohibit it. A female who should send letters out of the Society, without the inspection of the Elders, would not be considered in good standing. I don't recollect of alterations being suggested. It is forbidden to send letters without the inspection of the Elders. If I am not a hypocrite,

I am bound to follow the Lead; it is regarded all-important to follow the Lead. The Lead is the order of God, and not of man; the Elders are the Lead. When the Elders speak, it is the voice of God, and if they disobey that voice they are hypocrites and are lost.

All the inspired writings may be altered by the Lead or Order, according to the circumstances and necessities of the case. If one thinks the Elder is not right, all he can do is to go to the Elder and get explanation.

MISS MIRA BEAN.—I was thirty years of age last June. I have been connected with the Shakers, at the Church Family, in Canterbury, twenty-two years. I am a sister of Mrs. William Willard, who testified in first part of this examination.

I have been treated with kindness at all times; was never whipped or otherwise punished. I had the charge of children seven years; have been an assistant in school and a Caretaker. The average number under my charge was about eighteen. I ceased having charge of them five years ago. I took care of children as a mother, in the place of natural parents, and treated them properly, to the best of my wisdom. I don't know of any severe treatment. I know of Lydia Chase, who could not eat greasy food. I have no recollection of her being punished; I know they used to try to make her eat it; she left some years since. The children have decent and wholesome food and clothing—that which is necessary for their comfort.

At the time I was thrown upon the stairs, I was withdrawn from earth; when I returned to earth I found my right side hurt, and was confined some time. When I found myself hurt I was nursed and cared for until I got well. I was whirling when hurt; I believe that I have felt the power of God, even to turning and whirling. I *know* it was the power of God. I have been told that I have whirled incessantly for three hours. I have felt exhausted sometimes, after this exercise; sometimes I have felt my strength entirely gone. I believe it was inspiration. I have been inspired myself, and have written by inspiration a piece which is in the Holy Roll; it is a revelation from the Holy Prophet, Noah. I felt his Spirit upon me, and sat down and wrote, word for word, just as it was



given me, without knowing whether it would make sense or not. This piece is on the two hundred and twenty-ninth page of the Holy Roll or Sacred Roll.

I do not know of any ill treatment of children while I had the charge of them.

*Cross examined.*—I do not know of any complaints of ill treatment of children. I saw George A. Emery when he was laid out on the table, in the dwelling house, but did not examine his body. I was perfectly passive, and the power of God operated upon me and made me whirl. I have seen the persons who have testified, and have known them to whirl and speak by inspiration; I think the Orders are direct inspiration, but I never understood the Holy Orders to be inspired. The Sacred Roll is inspired. Jesus Christ made his second appearance in Ann Lee. Letters have never been sent by me to my friends, without being shown to the Elders; I show my letters to the Elders to see if the principles are in accordance with those of the Society, and to see if there is no grammatical errors.

If any complaints had been made to me, I should have felt bound to make it known to the Elders. I cannot say whether I ever saw the little girl vomit when compelled to eat fat meat. This girl left the Shakers after she grew up. I wrote the piece which is on the two hundred and twenty-ninth page of the Sacred Roll, just as Noah dictated me. I was at work in the shop when Noah spoke to me. He said he had a word for me; I went away and wrote just as he required; I was never called upon to correct the grammar of any of my inspirations. I have known people to be urged by the Elders to improve in their gifts, in writing by inspiration, and in speaking in unknown tongue; I don't know as I ever *spoke* in an unknown tongue; I have written in an unknown tongue; was moved to it by inspiration. The sentences were written hastily, as they were given to me; I did not know what the language meant, and never inquired what the meaning was.

MARY WHITCHER.—I went to live with the Shakers at Canterbury when eleven years old, and have lived with them twenty-two years. I was always treated well in school. I



taught school myself six years—from 1835 to 1841. I was Caretaker a year and a half. When I taught school, I endeavored to treat children kindly, and also when Caretaker.

*Cross examined.*—I recollect of some sister sitting on the floor; I walked upon her; I also stepped on her shoulder and head, and went over upon the floor. I don't know of any others doing the same. I know of no offence, or why I should do it, except that I was led by the Spirit of God.

I have written a testimony in relation to the Sacred Roll. I testified that I believed it to be the word of God. I had previously written that the word of God would be revealed. I was requested by my brother to aid in supporting my father; I declined, and did not wish to do anything out of union; I declined doing anything to aid my father when requested by my brother. I have never applied to the Elders to see if they would let me assist my father. I saw the Emery boy after he was dead, but did not examine his body; I have known children to be whipped at the Shakers.

JOHN WHITCHER.—I have lived with the Shakers at Canterbury for the past sixty-six years. There is a grave-stone erected at the grave of Lydia Garland, which was placed there; I think, the second of May, 1845. On the stone is the name of Lydia Garland, the date of her death, 1844, and her age, eighty-eight years.

I have taught school, more or less, for twenty-five years. I have no recollection of whipping a scholar during that time; I have no knowledge of a scholar setting his will up against me.

I know Peter Ayer; I was present at a religious meeting when something was done to him. There was a personating of Indians there, by several individuals—James M. Otis, Russel Tallant, John Maloon, Dr. Tripure, and others. Since then Otis, Maloon, James Patridge, Tallant, and Dr. Tripure have left the Society. Violent hands were laid upon this old man, Ayer; Otis was the first, several others followed. Peter Ayer remarked that he did not fellowship the proceeding, and expressed opposition; he was requested to sit down, and did so, and afterwards repeated his expressions, that he did not like their proceedings; he was afterwards compelled to keep si-

lence by violence. Otis put his hand over his mouth, and finally a handkerchief, I think—won't be certain who put the handkerchief in his mouth; they held him so till they finally let him go. Afterwards Otis or some one else seized him and pushed his head back against the plastering; I am much mistaken if Otis was not the man who did it. The Ministry were then absent, and were sent for; the excitement afterwards subsided.

*Cross examined.*—The exhibition was a personification of Indians, and the females joined in the exercises. There are many of the men and women, now in good standing there, who took part in these exercises. James Johnson, the leading Elder, was present, and did not object to the proceedings. I will not pretend to state distinctly that it was James M. Otis who pushed the old man's head back against the plastering, or that it was he that put the handkerchief over his mouth. I do not know as Elder Johnson made use of any particular expression when he exhorted them to improve in these Indian gifts. I never knew of any *special* rule requiring persons who had offended, to be placed between the sexes, and there compelled to kneel. I have known the Negro character represented there, as well as the real Negro could do it, but I did not know what it meant. I have joined in these exercises myself sometimes. I did not doubt but that there was a supernatural power in these representations of Indian and Negro character, but I felt doubtful about its beneficial results. I did, and do now believe that these exhibition of the Indian and Negro character were the result of supernatural power.

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WEDNESDAY EVENING, Dec. 27th.

Mrs. MIRANDA CLIFFORD.—I was formerly the wife of Hiram Clifford; was married in 1825. I lived first at Meredith Bridge; from thence I went to Gilmanton, and stayed six months; from thence to Loudon and boarded in a family by the name of Sargent; and so continued moving about from one place to another till I had moved thirteen times, during which time I became the mother of seven children, six of whom are now living. I finally went to the Shakers, and *there I found rest*. My three eldest children went before I did. My hus-



band was in favor of going to the Shakers. During all this time that I was moving about, we were in very poor circumstances. We first went into a house one half mile from the Shakers. The condition of myself and children, since I have been with the Shakers, I have considered to be the best. I was always treated kindly, and my children also. When I went there, my oldest child was nine years of age, and the youngest five months; one child, seven years old, has died since I have been there. I could always see my children when I desired; I was never deprived the privilege of seeing them. I was with my child when she died. The furniture which my husband carried there, was not worth much, any way.

*Cross examined.*—I have always been in the Gathering Family. My youngest child when two years and three months old, was taken to the Church Family, and has remained there. I carried it there of my own free will; my children have all lived in the Church Family since they have been there, except the youngest, who was carried there after I first went there, as I have stated. I have always lived in the North or Gathering Family. I have never known a child to go to see its relatives without a Shaker going with him. My oldest child is now twenty-one years of age, and the next twenty. My husband was at Canterbury about one year and the rest of the time he was at Enfield. I never knew any one of my children to go to Enfield, nor never went myself; I saw my husband take away his things, consisting of a bed, a set of crockery, &c.

**HARRIET HASTINGS.**—I live at Canterbury, and am in the Ministry; I have held the office thirteen years. Esther Ferrin was in the same office when I entered; she was seventy-one years old when she died; she lived till June, 1845. She had a paralytic shock which rendered her speechless for a time. She soon went to New-Lebanon, N. Y., and while there she was relieved from that office. She was then put in a room by herself, from her own choice, and one was assigned to take care of her. She afterwards went to Enfield, by her own choice, lived in a stone house, and there she died. When she was relieved, Hester Ann Adams was appointed, and I was



advanced. Esther Ferrin was treated kindly and with care in every respect.

I returned from Enfield in the afternoon, just before George A. Emery died. David Parker proposed a coroner's inquest, and Dr. Tripure opposed it. It was given up by David Parker very reluctantly. Dr. Tripure said there was no need of an inquest, inasmuch as the child came into his hands before he died; he said his death was occasioned by a concussion of the brain, by a fall on a stone.

*Cross examined.*—Before I was in the office which I now hold, I was an Eldress. I went to New-Lebanon with James Johnson and David Parker, and when we came back this appointment was made. This appointment was made by Hester Ann Adams, and confirmed by the people, by holding up hands. Mira Bean held up her hand against my confirmation, and put it down very quick. I did not see the body of George A. Emery; the corpse was kept two nights. I have no knowledge of any letter being sent to the world's people without being first examined by the Ministry. I have no knowledge of any alteration in the Sacred Roll; corrections were sometimes made. I have known portions to be left out when the manuscript was printed. I have known them to be re-written by some one besides the author of the manuscript.

JOSEPH JOHNSON.—I reside in Canterbury; I have been in the Ministry since 1831; have been part of the time at Canterbury, and part of the time at Enfield. I came to Canterbury with Harriet Hastings at the time George A. Emery died. David Parker thought it best to call a coroner and have the case investigated, and accordingly we called Dr. Tripure, and he thought it needless to have an inquest called, because the child was alive when put into his hands. He said his death was caused by a fall upon a stone, producing concussion of the brain. David Parker was very urgent to have an inquest. Doctor still thought there was no necessity.

DR. THOMAS CORBETT.—I am sixty-eight and a half years old, and have lived with the Shakers, at Canterbury, since I was two and a half years of age. I have been a practicing physician over forty years, and was called to see the Emery

boy by Dr. William Tripure. After I came home in the afternoon, between five and six o'clock, Dr. Tripure came to me and told me that George A. Emery had had a fall and would not live. I hastened up and found the child dead. He told me that the child had a fall upon the side hill, and struck the back part of his head; he said he had been giving him laudanum and brandy. I asked him how much? He said as much as he could get into him. I told him that I should not have dared to give him that medicine. I examined the head, and found a bunch on the back part of the boy's head—a little upon one side—as large as half of an hen's egg, split in two. I could find no fracture of the skull. Dr. Tripure said he had examined, and he could find none. I helped him lay the child out; he held him up, and I wiped him down. His back, hips, and thighs were purple; I saw no bruises on his back. A candle was eight or ten feet from where the child laid. I did not take the candle down to examine in particular, but I saw no wales or rising on the child's back; I could see no bruises. We laid him out two hours after he died.

I have known of no case similar to the one Foster testified to, of himself and Miss Arlin, since I have been with the Shakers, save this one.

Once I had been away on a journey and got home late at night, on Saturday. As soon as I arrived, the *instruments* sent for me, and I went directly into the meeting. They said quite a gift had been obtained in my absence, for purging sins. I was ordered to retire to a room where an aged man was, and labor for my soul, and I might go to my own room to lodge. I complied; no doors were closed against me. I visited other families on my professional business. It is sometimes customary to have beds in a room for old men to sleep on. I helped put the child in the coffin the next day about noon.

*Cross examined.*—James Johnson sent me away to that room; what for I do not know, except to labor for my soul, as I have stated. I was there all of two days, and most another. I did not make any inquiry why I was sent there. I had my victuals sent to me; I did not leave till I had orders from James Johnson or the Ministry; I was then over sixty years of age. I went in persuance of duty. I said that when I examined the



child, that a candle was under the stove pipe. I examined the child's head with my fingers; there was no fracture of the skull, and the scalp was not broken. I went in with the mother when she went in to see the child, but I don't recollect of telling her that the blood had settled. The blood had settled down the thighs a piece; I noticed no blood that had settled on the child above the hips. I do not recollect as there was any meeting that night. I was in the meeting when it was said by Elder Johnson that it was best to say nothing about it, &c. I should think this two or three days after the boy's death. There was not a word passed between me and Dr. Tripure in relation to the boy's falling. I do not recollect how, or upon what consideration, I was received back into meeting; I don't recollect as I was ever ordered away before. I think I was received back without any confession; don't remember of making a confession after I was shut up. I don't recollect anything about it.

DR. THOMAS CHADBOURNE.—I reside in Concord; I have practiced as a physician in the Shaker families, at Canterbury, ten or twelve years, and have been frequently called there as a consulting physician. I never knew any thing wanting to the comforts of the sick. The arrangements for ventillation are as good as in most Hospitals. I think better than are generally found in good families. I have heard the testimony of Dr. Corbett in relation to the external appearance of the Emery boy's head. Any injury on the back part of the head may kill, when on the front it will not hurt. There is a recent case in this town, where there was a fracture of the skull, and blood vessel broken, but no external injury. I think brandy and laudanum would increase the stupor caused by a convulsion of the brain. Blood sometimes settles in the lower part of the body after death. It has the appearance of mortification; it sometimes commences before death. I have visited patients in the upper part of the meeting house, where the Holy Anointed are; went in there the same as into other buildings.

*Cross examined.*—The boy in this town who was recently killed by a blow upon the back part of the head was fifteen or sixteen years of age; his name was West. The blow was in-



flicted with a piece of board. An injury on the back of the head from a fall is not so dangerous as from a blow at the base of the skull. The blow on the head would not produce any more appearance of blood, than if ensuing from other causes. I have had a great many cases of cancerous tumors among the Shakers. I should not want to say that I have had more cases of cancers among the Shakers than among other persons. Cancerous diseases were of the breast and testicles at Canterbury.

DR. WILLIAM PRESCOTT.—I have had practice at the Shakers for ten or twelve years, while I resided at Gilmanton. I had no cases of pregnancy while I resided there. I concur generally with the testimony of Dr. Chadbourne.

JAMES DYER.—I am a brother of C. M. Dyer, and have lived with the Shakers at Enfield thirty-five years; was about seven years old when I went there. I have practiced some as a physician for eleven years. I heard Foster testify in relation to himself and Miss Arlin. There have been no cases like his in our Society.

*Cross examined.*—I don't know what was the matter with Charlotte Chaffin; she was sent away about 1844; she was about eighteen years of age; she had lived there ten or twelve years; she was carried to her parents; I never saw her afterwards. I never consulted with Dr. Clough about her health. I don't know that I had any knowledge that she was going away. She was not sick to my knowledge. I never heard any thing said by Hester Ann Adams or any of the prophets about her going away. Her parents lived three-fourths of a mile from the Shakers. She died about four months after she left the Shakers. I don't know of any Shakers going to see her before she died. She had been sick six or eight weeks before she died. I was at her house, and the parents told me how long she had been sick. Her health had been middling good before she left. She had a father and mother. I have no knowledge that she ever returned to the Shaker family after she left. I visited Wm. L. Sanborn during his last sickness; he was sick five or six weeks; he was sick in the building where he used to live. Samuel Barker was then taking care of him. He got

better, so that I ceased attending him about a fortnight before he died. I saw him out. For about a week I visited him every day. He made no complaint about his food or room; he was well taken of, so far as I saw or knew. I had not visited him for the last fortnight before his death. Samuel Barker used to carry him his food and wait on him; he used to use a staff. There was another man in the room adjoining the one in which he died. He was decrepid and feeble; seventy years old. I did not see him after he was dead. He had lived in this building several years. The man who lived in the adjoining room was Howard; he was lame and could not get round well.

SAMUEL BARKER.—I lived in the South Family of Shakers at Enfield. Wm. L. Sanborn lived there in a small building, and had done so for twelve years. He was taken sick about the middle of January. We had a place for the sick of that family, and he had the offer of going there but declined, said he preferred to stay where he was; the room was ten feet by twelve, ceiled at the sides, and a stove in the room. I attended upon him in the day times. He got better and went out to the office twice in the week before his death; he went after loaf sugar, &c. I saw him going down towards the village. I was not with him the day before he died; they say he died suddenly. I carried his food to him some of the time; I don't recollect as he complained of his food. I frequently tried to get what he wanted.

*Cross examined.*—I never stayed with Sanborn nights. I think Jason Kidder stayed with him two nights. I don't know of any one else staying with him nights. I did not see him after he was dead, nor do I recollect of seeing him the day before his death, unless it was at the office. I remember of seeing him walk out a few rods from the office. I think this was the week before his death. After he got out I did not carry him his food; he frequently went after it himself. I saw the funeral; he was carried to the grave. I have no knowledge that he was carried to the grave in a cart. I did not go to the grave. I don't know who did. I don't know as I saw the body carried out of the shop and put into any thing. I cannot tell certain I don't remember about the cart; can't tell how the body was carried to the grave.



JASON KIDDER.—I live in the South Family at Enfield. Sanborn was sick about the time stated by Barker. Three of us stayed with him and took turns—Adams and another. He got better and got about, so that he was at the office as often as every other day. He wanted some honey and I promised to get it for him but neglected it. He went down to the village for it, and I met him on his way back. He told me that he could get no honey—I had a wagon but he walked back; this was the fore part of the week of his death. I was with him the evening before his death and he was sitting in his chair, apparently as well as usual. He complained of Dr. Durkee, and said his medicine was not so good as his own. I did not see him till after he was lain out; some one remarked that he fell upon the stove.

*Cross examined.*—I cannot tell how many nights I stayed with him; I think I stayed with him part of six or eight nights. There was a mark on his face on one side. The body was carried in a waggon to the grave. Sanborn was probably sixty-three or sixty-four years of age, and had been with the Shakers from the age of fourteen. I don't know how much property he brought there. When I met him on the way home from the village I did not ask him to ride. I had a horse and wagon.

WILLIAM DENNETT.—I have lived with the Canterbury Shakers seventeen years. I know a boy by the name of Daniel Green who has testified in a former part of this examination. He was under my care two years. I never, during that time, whipped him with a rawhide; never took his clothes off to whip him. I have whipped him; did because he was greatly addicted to lying. I whipped him with a rattan for lying. None of his clothes were taken off. I never whipped him more than once, and that was with a rattan twelve or fifteen inches long.

*Cross examined.*—I don't remember what time of year it was. I don't know of his being whipped by James Brackett. He was never whipped but once. He ran away twice; I went after him once to Loudon; don't know in what town I found him or at what house; don't know how I brought him back. I did not whip him after I got him back, but put him in the shop, and told him not to go out; to stay there. I put him in



the shop to meditate on his conduct. I told him I should set him aside from his companions.

JOSEPH WILLOUGHBY.—I have been with the Canterbury Shakers about three years. Previous to going there I had lived at New-Boston for twenty years. When I went there I had a wife and one child, which was two years old. I first went into a small house beyond the office at the North Family, and resided there till November. I took my meals most of the time with the Shaker Family. My child died in the house where I first went; it died on the 15th of October, and my wife left soon after. She desired to go away, and I consented; she came over to Concord in a wagon with me. I bought her a ticket, and gave her ten dollars in money. That was all the money she said she wanted. She had some of her own. I have seen her four times since at Lowell, and asked her if she wanted help. She said she had as much money as she wanted. I had some six hundred dollars' worth of personal property, which I carried to the Shakers. I sold my farm January, 1848; sold my other things in May, 1848. I received for my farm \$2,000. My personal property is now, some of it, in the house which my wife left. I have urged her to come and occupy it. For my real estate I have one note due here in Concord, signed by Amos Wood, and endorsed by Mr. Whipple. The rest I let David Parker have, for which I have his bill for \$900. I have helped build an out-house there at the Shakers with some of my money. I have an inventory of my furniture, which is in the house; they made out an inventory and gave it to me.

*Cross examined.*—I signed the Agreement soon after I went there. I sold my real estate for \$2,000. I have given the Shakers from fifty to one hundred dollars. There was one hundred dollars' worth of hay and grain went into the inventory. I had four oxen and some cows. All my personal property was worth from two thousand five hundred to two thousand seven hundred dollars. I have a paper from David Parker for about nine hundred dollars. I heard the Agreement, which I signed, read by somebody. I let David Parker have the nine hundred dollars soon after I sold my farm. I went to

These are all the amounts we have given away. The title of our lands is vested in the Trustees. The property of the families is separate. Within the last ten years thirty-eight or forty individuals have left us. I have the time they lived with us. I did not say, after the case was tried between Woodbury and the town of Canterbury, "that Peter Foster lied about that matter like the very devil." If I possibly *said* so, I never *thought* so. I never knew of any letters being examined; sometimes they were examined. I am not able to say that I have ever known any letters to be received by minors without being examined. I never said I did not believe one half of the inspirations among the Shakers. I blew the trumpets when the proof sheets were brought in. We were required by the Angel to print the Sacred Roll there at Canterbury. I do not believe that any other publication has been written by inspiration, except the Holy Roll.

## Extracts from Shaker Publications.

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The following is a brief memorandum taken from a book entitled "A return" of "Departed Spirits" of the Highest characters of distinction, as well as the Indiscriminate of all nations, into the bodies of the "Shakers," or "United Society of believers in the second advent of the Messiah." "By an Associate of said Society."

Sixty years have elapsed since the Establishment of the "Millennial Church" in the United States. During that time its increase has been gradual, and several thousands of souls have been gathered to Zion, as it is called. At the present time, branches of the society are located in the states of New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Ohio and Kentucky: the settlements at New Lebanon and Watervliet, in the State of New York, contain the greatest number of members.

That portion of the society located at Watervliet, near the City of Albany, where the author of this work has resided, numbers about three hundred souls.

The gifts of God have been manifested in this people in a very marvellous manner. For a period of many years they have been especially favoured with spiritual gifts and operations; among which may be mentioned, as most prominent, the gifts of prophecy, speaking with unknown tongues, discerning of spirits, and holding communication with the spiritual world. Very frequently they are seized with a rapid whirling and violent twitching of the body, which they are unable to repress. We have seen numbers in this manner caught up by some invisible power and whirled around the meeting room at an almost incredible rate, some proclaiming the word of the Lord to his people, while others would be discoursing in unknown language, and holding converse with angels and other heavenly spirits.

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We shall now proceed to a description of some of the distinguished individuals who have, at different periods, severally appeared at New Lebanon and Watervliet, in the State of New York.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, to whom we shall have occasion to make allusion hereafter, was among the first that made themselves known in this manner.



His spirit has been often discerned, by those who were gifted with spiritual sight, before he made his name and purposes known through one of the brethren, whose body was thus so signally honoured by the spirit of that illustrious man.

George gave some particulars concerning the discharge of his earthly duties while sojourning upon this terrestrial globe, and concluding with congratulating himself upon the opportunity availed of entering into communion with those who were walking in the "pure Gospel light."

He informed them (the elders) that he was commissioned of heaven with the important and responsible duty of ministering to the wants of thousands and tens of thousands of departed spirits, who were wandering about in search of happiness. That he was to conduct the nations of the earth to Zion, where all, whether in or out of the body, must eventually come to find salvation. In accordance with this divine commission, the elders ratified the appointment of George Washington, who has proved himself a faithful minister indeed, having already sent many thousands to the True Church, where they have rapidly progressed in the way of God.

In the course of the work we shall notice the different nations in the order in which they arrived; but, for the present, individuals of distinguished popularity, many of whom have been dead for thousands of years, will occupy our attention.

It may be proper here to state that we shall avoid any unnecessary detail of the conversation of spiritual individuals; and shall only describe such conversation as shall be deemed of an interesting character. This course is adopted in order to guard against wearying the patience of the reader.

Many of the statesmen of the American Revolution, among whom John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were most prominent, have, through the influence of Washington, appeared; and by their acts have proved themselves good believers in the Millennial Church, and faithful followers of Christ.

GENERAL HARRISON, whose withdrawal from earth while in possession of the presidency of a mighty republic, and whose departure was accompanied by universal lamentation, has come to Zion, and, after stating his name and circumstances, has been joyfully welcomed to an association with the people of God; which privilege he gladly accepted, and is now among the heavenly spirits who are singing eternal praises to the Almighty Father.

WILLIAM PENN makes an occasional visit to the Shakers on earth, and he himself is a valuable instrument in the hands of God; being very efficient in conducting the tribes of Indians to the peaceful vale in Zion.

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William Penn, who, while on earth, supported so strenuously the principles of the Quakers, has become a faithful adherent to the doctrines and principles of the Shakers; being persuaded that the latter sect of people, by abstaining from fleshly works of every nature, live more in the spirit of Christ than any other sect of religionists upon earth. He says that he lived up to the best light received in that day; but that had the testimony of the true Gospel of the Church of Christ been opened, at that time, he should certainly have espoused it.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, whose extraordinary career of warlike achievements have rendered his name at least immortal, has long since been called to the home of the faithful.

As the history of this wonderful man is so universally known to the whole world, it were needless to repeat the account of his many warlike deeds as given by himself, when he arrived. Suffice it to say, he has humbled himself sufficiently to become one of Christ's followers, and those who could hear him discourse, would wonder at the mighty change which has been wrought in that once all-powerful man. Yes, the spirit of that Napoleon, before whose invincible power nations trembled, is now upon an equality with the meanest soldiers of his vast armies. But kings and princes all must come down from their thrones and mingle with the dust of the earth.

STEPHEN GIRARD, well known as a distinguished millionaire of Philadelphia, and the founder of the magnificent edifice, bearing the name of the Girard College, which is being erected at Philadelphia, came in spirit, and received a hearty welcome.

He gave a very interesting account of himself. He stated that after he departed this life, he found himself on the banks of the Delaware river, at some distance below Philadelphia, where he had been wandering two and fro for some time, until he heard the sound of a trumpet, which attracted him to this place, (Zion.) He related some incidents illustrative of his rapid increase in worldly wealth, and gave an account of his wife, wherein he spoke of the circumstance related in his biography, concerning the affair between her and the American officer.

Girard made anxious inquiries about the disposition of the property which he had bequeathed to the city of Philadelphia, and particularly in relation to the progress of the College; and, when apprised of the fact that it was not yet completed, he manifested his surprise in terms of disapprobation. The Elders advised him not to trouble himself about worldly matters now, as he had been called hither for quite a different purpose, and he must, consequently, be prepared to receive such advice and instruction as would render him worthy of an association with the inhabitants of Christ's kingdom.



Accepting, with a willing mind, the offer of salvation, Stephen Girard has become a believer of the Millennial Church.

MAHOMET, the celebrated impostor, made himself known at New Lebanon, and created quite a sensation. It was an arduous task to bring his mind to a conformity with the principles of "believers," notwithstanding he acknowledged having endured all the torments of hell, as the punishment inflicted upon him for his wicked deeds committed while upon earth. After witnessing the order and plan of worship of the Shakers, —which privilege was allowed him by the elders, on several occasions,—his high sensed notions fell, and he could not refrain from an expression of his admiration of the beautiful and systematic arrangements of the order of worship adopted by the people of God. He admitted that the order of marching was much superior to that of his best disciplined soldiers; and he eagerly accepted the proffered privileges to "go forth in the dances of them that make merry."

Mahomet confessed and repented of the sin of having deceived his countrymen, and those who followed him, and who believed his false doctrines and representations.

A large number of Arabs accompanied their leader, Mahomet, and, like him, were highly pleased with every thing which met their view at New Lebanon.

Not having had the opportunity of being present where Mahomet made his spiritual advent, we have presented the proceeding brief account of him, as narrated by one of the elders presiding over the Society at New Lebanon.

POPE PIUS came one day, and, received a hearty welcome from the elders of the Church, who were much pleased at the opportunity thus afforded of having a conversation with the head of the Church of Rome.

The Pope was, apparently, in a depressed state of mind. He depicted the horrors of hell, in which, he said, he had been ever since he left the earth. He stated that he had not been burning in a *fire*, as understood in a literal sense; but he described it as a more terrible scourge—a continual fire of anguish within, which was gradually consuming him, and which it was impossible to extinguish or assuage. He was sensible that this torture had been inflicted as a punishment for various criminal acts committed upon earth, while in the exercise of his Papal authority.

BISHOP JAMES DOYLE, of the County of Carlow, Ireland, was introduced in the room, during a meeting of worship, by some nuns from a convent in Ireland.

SAINT PATRICK, the patron saint of Ireland, came to Water-vliet, in the month of March last, but as we were not present on the occasion, we are unable to give his account of himself.



We believe, however, that he was in quite a comfortable state when he came out of the deep sleep into which he had been cast after departing this life, and that he seemed much interested while listening to the remarks of the Elders in relation to the subject of eternal salvation. Saint Patrick is now a good Shaker.

SAMPSON, celebrated in the Book of Judges, as a man possessed of extraordinary strength, came, with a number of the Philistines, whom he had slain aforetime. Some of the Lords of the Philistines discoursed about their god Dagon, which they worshipped with great veneration.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, his father, Philip, with their generals and officers of state, came to Watervliet. Alexander boasted of his many brilliant achievements in the world, and, for a time, maintained a proud and haughty disposition. He made some allusion to the events of his life, and stated that he was convinced that it was through excessive drinking that his death had been accelerated. He stated that he had seen George Washington, and that individual had directed them to "Wisdom's Valley." On being made acquainted with the noble character of Washington, and of the services which he had rendered to his country while on earth, Alexander seemed much interested, and expressed his desire and determination to cultivate an acquaintance with that illustrious man.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, made her presence known in a bold and haughty manner. QUEEN ANN accompanied Mary. QUEEN ELISABETH has been a Shaker for some time.

KING CHARLES II., and GEORGE I., came about the same time with other English sovereigns, among whom were Edwy and Elgiva.

GENERAL BROCK, the British officer who fell in the battle at Queenston Heights, during the last war between the United States and Great Britian, made himself known at the meeting.

GENERAL LAFAYETTE has united himself with the church, and occasionally makes a visit to his associates in the body. Washington and Lafayette are inseparable friends in the world of spirits.

MARSHAL NEY, GENERAL BERTRAND, and other of Napoleon's officers, presented themselves and conversed gaily and enthusiastically about the engagements in which they were conspicuous actors.

NERO, the Roman Emperor, whose cruelties have stamped him as a tyrant of the worst description, entered into the body of one of the brethren, and discoursed at length in relation to his past conduct.

OSCEOLA, ALEXANDER POPE the poet, QUEEN CHARLOTTE, of Africa, SAINT JOHN of Patmos, KING DAVID, and some of the Apostles have returned from the world of spirits, and joined the Shakers.

*The Passengers of the ill-fated President have returned and joined the Shakers.*

CAPTAIN ROBERTS, MR. TYRONE POWER, the REV. GEORGE COOKMAN, and the MESSRS LANSDOWNE, with others of that ill-fated ship, succeeded in "getting in," and communicated the dreadful tidings in relation to the destruction of the vessel, and the loss of all who were on board.

We can readily imagine the surprise that the announcement of any information calculated to throw light upon the subject of the loss of the President, will awaken, and shall therefore proceed to give the description of the affair, as related by Mr. Power, one of the passengers :

"My name is Tyrone Power. My profession, while on earth was that of a comedian. I am a native of Ireland, and was, at the time of this disaster, on my return to my native country from the United States, having been eminently successful with my business. I had with me a large sum of money, the fruits of my labor, and was fondly anticipating the joy I should experience in rejoining my family. But my fond expectations were not to be realized, and I was doomed to a watery grave. After being out a few days a tremendous hurricane arose, and the agitation of the sea threatened annihilation and destruction hourly. It was, I believe, just after we had passed out of sight of the George's Bank, that we were driven, with tremendous force, against an iceberg, and the vessel immediately went to pieces.

"It was in the night, and awful was the scene that ensued. Brief it was, yet, nevertheless, terrible beyond any thing I had ever conceived of ; so that I feel a sensation of horror while dwelling upon the scene of that awful night. I believe I was one of the last that went down ; having seized part of the vessel, to which I clung as long as possible, not with the expectation of being preserved from death—no ! the last ray of hope had departed the very instant the vessel struck, and we were scalded with the hot steam—but I desired to prolong my life a few moments, to afford me time sufficient to commend my soul to that God toward whom I then became sensible I had been too much a stranger. After performing this duty, I felt an inward pleasure which assured me that His mercy had not been invoked in vain ; and I mentally expressed my regret at not having employed my time and talents more profitable to myself and acceptable to him. While the air was rent with the cries and lamentations of my fellow-passengers, I distinguished the voice of my dear friend Cookman, (a clergyman, who is here to speak for himself,) engaged in an earnest and eloquent appeal to God ; invoking his mercy upon all. In a few moments I sank beneath the waters, which closed over me ; and this is about all the information I can impart in relation to the dreadful occurrence."



The following extracts purport to have been given to the young children of the Society, as a guide in spiritual affairs, by Mother Ann Lee : the object of which is to make children perfect slaves, both in thought and action. It is in perfect accordance with the most abject slavery, requiring not only all the powers of the body, but also those of the mind to be in perfect submission to the "Lead." It is entitled, "The Youth's Guide in Zion, and Holy Mother's Promises. Given by inspiration at New-Lebanon, N. Y., January 5th, 1842."

### WORDS OF HOLY MOTHER.

Once more, O Beloved, do I, your Holy Mother, communicate my will unto you. For long, long have I heard the deep and fervent supplications of your blessed Father Joseph, rolling thro' the Heavens, even to my holy dwelling-place. And O Beloved, for what do you think he hath bowed his spirit, and long, long entreated of me his Holy Mother? Lo! this was his fervent desire; that I, in my infinite wisdom, would anoint one of my shining angels, to go forth in my power and wisdom, and write a book for the guidance and safe-going of the youth in the first and second part of the holy Church on earth.

But having much to do, to cleanse the western branches, and mark each soul, I have not until lately, seen fit to answer your blessed Father, and in a measure release his spirit of the heavy burden he felt for the young and tender youth.

This I did, by making him a sealed promise, on a gold leaf of my love, that on the tenth of November, I would write the Beloved a letter, informing them of the manner of a book which I will direct an angel to write, which the Beloved on earth shall receive on the fourteenth; yea, *even the ever watchful Elders over the tender buds in Zion.*

I am INFINITE WISDOM; I dwell with the ETERNAL FATHER, and have known all things, and the transactions of both good and evil spirits on the earth and in the heavens, ever since the beginning and creation thereof. I know the mighty power of the devil, and the Almighty power of God. I know the hosts of hell, and the greater and stronger hosts of heaven. I also know the cunning craftiness of evil spirits, and the great influence they have on the souls of mortal creatures, and especially when young and inexperienced.

And now, O ye little ones, ye beloved Elders in the work of God on earth, know ye this, that in my wisdom, I have chosen from the fifth band of the angels of love, a powerful and bright angel, that I shall anoint and appoint to reveal, in my wisdom, a book which may be called, **THE YOUTH'S GUIDE IN ZION, AND HOLY MOTHER'S PROMISES.**



This book shall firstly be divided into numbered lessons, after which shall follow my sure promises to all who will faithfully learn these lessons, and walk as they direct, through time.

If the Holy Anointed feel union with this work, then see ye that the Instrument whom I have chosen to write this letter from me, your Holy Mother, be prepared in low humiliation, with purity and singleness of heart, to write ten hours in a day, until the work is accomplished and sealed by the word of the angel, commencing, (if so it may be,) on the first day of January, 1842, at the hour of your appointment. *Suffer him not to speak, while thus engaged, to any one in Zion but the Lead.*

If for the convenience and improvement of the young, you desire to have several books of these lessons and my promises, ye may appoint such ones as you see fit, to copy, in a plain style, as many as may be desirable, and no more than can be protected, and kept holy and sacred.

This, Beloved, will be a work not so very lengthy; but truly it may be counted as fulfilling the promise to the little children of Mother, *who have freely forsaken the practice of perusing histories and other unprofitable books, invented by the skill of sinful man, aided by the false spirits of Satan, to catch the young mind.*

No book, wherein my lessons and true promises are written, shall be kept over four hours, without the special liberty of the Elders of the family.

Neither shall it be taken out of the dwelling-house without the same special liberty.

What I have given to be written in this little book, may, *by liberty of the Lead*, be committed to memory, which will prove a strength and protection to all such as will faithfully keep the same, in all they say and do, which must be in *perfect union with the Lead.*

The first step of rising from the death of the spirit, to everlasting life, after being convicted of the works of death, which is sin, is honestly to confess the same to the living witnesses of God, established in the true order of his Eternal Wisdom.

To travel easy in the gospel, and make the swiftest possible progress towards the kingdom of righteousness and peace, is to keep a close union and joining to the body of the Church of Christ.

Never try to run on ahead, before the main body of good believers, and above all, never fall back; but keep close up and be in the gift.

The greatest travel, comfort and blessing a soul can gain, is to be found *in being up and alive in every gift*; feeling united in spirit, and thus the main body is strengthened, and Zion is built up and adorned.

There is a Lead in Zion to which all souls must gather and

look for help, strength and support. This is the order of God and not of man; and no soul can *run by this order* without losing the blessing and protection of God.

God pours his blessing and love on *such as keep a close union and a free spirit of honesty to the Lead*. And where all do this, all will receive alike; for God is not partial.

If souls are disobedient to the leading order of God, they at once fall behind, and lose the blessing that the obedient share and enjoy.

Boast not of thy righteousness; but rather show the same by *keeping silent and fearing* God, who is able to *smite* with his hand of *judgment*, both the righteous and the unrighteous.

*The willing and obedient shall have no occasion to say that they are the worst of all souls.*

*Obedience is the true path to happiness and comfort*, and the soul that *walks therein*, doth glow like the fair morning rose.

Seek not to display any great talents in time; for that belongs to, and is of the children of, darkness; by which they gain glory one of another; but have none of God.

Contentment is a sign of resignation to the cross, with which all faithful souls are marked. It fills the honest soul with comfort and happiness.

Let contentment dwell within thy breast. Be subject thereunto; for it is a lovely guest.

Seek not to explore the world to view the high mountains and low valleys, or rivers and lakes; for ye have a far better calling than that, to labor in.

Ye are called to separate from the world; *then seek not to converse with the wicked subjects thereof*.

When ye are tempted and overcome with sin, ye feel guilt and remorse, and ye know that honest confession is the only requisite to find releasement. Don't give back because of the cross; if you do, the evil one will soon lead you to the pit of hell, and there you will burn with inward horror and condemnation. So hearken to the words of **ETERNAL WISDOM**, and always keep your conscience clear, by honest confession, which is mortifying and crucifying to the man of sin.

You may gain mortification by your own exertions, when you assemble to worship God, by exercising, motioning, bowing and bending, and sometimes speaking your faith, and making good promises; mortification gained in this way is very good.

It is better to gain it so, than to have your Elders put it upon you. If you do not gain it by your own exertions, if you get any at all, your Elders will either have to help you to it, or else you will escape it; and if you escape it, you will surely escape entering the kingdom of bright glory.

This is true, for I am **INFINITE WISDOM**; I know these things

and have known them from the very beginning. I speak nothing but truth, and eternal truth it is. I give it in simple language that ye may all understand, and withall obey unto everlasting happiness, or disobey unto condemnation and misery.

The spirits of mankind are so much swallowed up and sunk in the works of nature, pride, lust, and fleshy affections, that true godliness is not to be found among them; but it is found in the Church of Christ and its branches, which is a burning light unto all nations, and a city of truth, *into which all souls must enter, if they ever find God*, and wish to gain eternal life and be redeemed from sin.

'The children of the Church of Christ are not numbered with the children of mankind at large; but they are the children of the New Jerusalem, and they are numbered, and their names are written in the BOOK OF LIFE.

Ye should often think of the greatness of your calling and privilege *in the only true way of life*.

Wars and tumults shall overspread the earth; kingdoms shall rise against kingdom, and nations shall split, subdivide, and fall to ruin; the mountains shall burn, the valleys sink, and the watery deep shall cast up mire and foam; earthquakes shall shake with great fury, and lay in desolation districts, countries and cities; yet amidst all this, the faithful soul shall be protected from harm; but woe to the unfaithful, who slight the offers of God to their souls! I promise them nothing but a burning in hell.

God is with me and I'm with God,  
And ever was and e'er will be;  
We have all power to use the rod,  
To rend the earth and spill the sea.  
All heaven is at our command;  
We speak thereto, it doth obey;  
And what is earth beneath our hand?  
It is but one light ball of clay.

Now think of this, ye helpless worms!  
Ye little specks of mortal clay!  
Since at our word all heaven turns.  
Dare ye presume to disobey?  
Dare ye presume to scoff at God?  
And mock and scorn his holy power?  
Beware, I say, lest with his rod  
He smite your souls in that same hour.

O little children, could you know  
The call of mercy unto you,  
You'd sacrifice all things below,  
And cast off nature clear from you,  
The world with its alluring charms  
Of pleasure, false and vain delight,  
*Its riches, husbands, wives and farms,*  
*Would be disgusting in your sight.*



Thousands of years have I lived and walked, and soared in the heavens above, and sung to my God with delight: Yea,

With many bright angels of Wisdom's pure love,  
Have I pass'd and repass'd thro' the heavens above.

Thousands of souls have I seen, who were, in time, mean, wretched vagabonds, chained in darkness, in misery and hell, too awful to relate. And many of these wretched souls were such as rebelled against the light of God that now shines in time; that light *wherein you dwell*, unto whom I now speak.

I see the awful gulf of misery wherein many of you, yea, all would finally have landed, if ye had continued in your own ways a few years longer.

Although you had good and faithful Elders to teach you; yet you did not hearken to them; but went on from day to day, in, I can say nothing better than your own ways; seeking ease and indulgence to your fallen natures.

Now you may think this to be rather strange for an angel, that never before spoke to you, to tell about your own ways, and that too, of my own accord.

I know the way of life, wherein ye are called to travel; and if ye fall therefrom by stumbling on the rock of disobedience, ye will land in the bosom of hell.

I think *you* have sufficient knowledge of the spiritual world for your *present* good. If ye have too much *knowledge thereof*, it will tend to create an *uneasiness*, and a spirit of *discontent*. If ye knew too much thereof, ye would not be so well satisfied as ye ought to be in time; and ye cannot go hence, until your work is done below. Therefore, I say unto you, if ye knew too much of the spiritual world, ye would be no comfort to yourselves, nor to *others* in time.

## APPENDIX.

*A few words of Eternal Wisdom by the Angel concerning the orders of this book as given in the preface.*

They may be altered if the Lead see fit; *but let no others plead to have them altered*; for the wisdom of the Lead is *sufficient to direct all things aright*. And now I give this book into their hands, to be extended when and wherever they desire, let it be far or near.

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The following bill passed the House of Representatives, 176 voting in favor of it and 39 against it. It was defeated in the Senate, being introduced the last hour of its session.

An act for the better protection of married women and children.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened,* That whenever any man having a family, shall connect himself with any religious sect, or society, which profess to believe the relation of husband and wife unlawful, or cohabitation between them sinful, the right of such husband over his property shall be suspended, and thereafter, the wife of such person shall have the management and control of such property, in the same way and manner as her said husband might have done before such connection, except that said wife shall not convey any real estate of her said husband, or lease the same for a longer period than five years. And in case of the death of such wife of her voluntary connection with such sect or society, the said property shall be managed and controlled in like manner, by a guardian of the children of such person, to be appointed in the same way and manner as guardians of children in other cases are appointed, and said guardian shall appropriate the income of such property for the support and benefit of the children of such persons so connected with such sect or society, in such way and manner as the Judge of Probate of the county in which such guardian resides, shall from time to time order and direct. And all leases, gifts, sales and conveyances made by such person to such sect or society, or to any person or corporation in trust for such sect or society after such connection, or in anticipation thereof, shall be void.

SEC. 2. Whenever such person shall abandon such sect or society, he may by petition apply to the Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature to annul the control of such property by the wife of such person, or the guardian of said children, and after due notice to such wife or guardian, and having the evidence of said parties in relation thereto, the said Court may, if in their judgment the interest of such person and his family will be promoted thereby, by their order annul the said control of said wife or guardian over the property of such person, from the time of such order.

SEC. 3. When any man now connected with such sect or society and having a family, shall continue such connection for a period of three months after the publication of this act, his right over his property shall be suspended in the same way and manner as specified in the first section of this act, and thereupon the same shall be controlled and managed, or the control and management thereof annulled in the same way and manner as specified in said first section, and all gifts, leases, sales and conveyance made by such person to such sect or society, or to any person in trust for the same, after the passage of this act, or in anticipation thereof, shall be null and void.

SEC. 4. No person shall place or bind his child or children, nor shall the overseers of the poor of any town place or bind any paupers belonging to such town, to or with any such sect or society, or to any member thereof without the approbation, in writing, of the Judge of Probate of the county in which said person shall reside.

SEC. 5. Upon application in writing, by any parent or other relative, to any Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature, alleging that any child or children are wrongfully, unjustly, or improperly held by any such sect or society, or any member thereof, said Judge shall have power, on writ or habeas corpus to bring such child or children before him, and said Judge may in his discretion annul any indenture or indentures binding said child or children to such sect or society, or any member thereof, and to order the surrender of such child or children, or so many of them as he may deem proper, to such parent or other relative; and if any member of such sect or society shall send or carry, or cause to be sent or carried any such child or children out of this State, or shall secrete or cause to be secreted any such child or children, so that the said writ of habeas corpus cannot be executed; such member of said sect or society, and every other person concerned therein, shall be guilty of a high misdemeanor; and on conviction thereof, shall be fined not exceeding three hundred dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding six months, or both, at the discretion of the court before which such conviction may be had.

SEC. 6. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after the passage thereof



## Trial of the Shakers

*For attempt to restrain the wife and three children of William H. Pillow; exposure of their deceptions, and her final release by a writ of habeas corpus.*

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The trial of which our readers have been already informed, pending between our friend P. and the Shakers, was resumed on Thursday of last week, in the Court House at Hudson, before Judge Hogeboom. Killean Miller and Theodore Miller, Esqs., were engaged as counsel by P., and Henry Hogeboom and C. L. Monell, Esqs., were engaged as counsel for the Shakers. As the trial was of a novel and even extraordinary character, and is calculated to reflect much light upon the institution of Shakerism, and the conduct of Shakers, we deem it a duty we owe to the public to make a full report of the proceedings. It is probable that many of our readers may not be interested in the documents, but for the sake of many others who will be glad to read the whole proceeding, and for the purpose of presenting a connected claim, we give the writ and pleadings in the case. It should be remarked that two writs of HABEAS CORPUS were sued out, one to bring up the body of Ann, wife of P., and the other to bring up his three children.

What follows relates to the wife; the case of the children being yet pending to be tried on the 9th of November next.

One word of explanation is necessary in relation to the manner in which our friend P. became entangled with the Shakers. The facts are these. His wife embraced the Second Advent doctrine, otherwise called Millerism. She fell fully into the excitement concerning the coming of Christ upon the tenth day of the seventh month. She appeared to have no doubt that Christ would come at the time specified, and of course she was greatly disappointed when the day passed by without bringing her expected Lord. In the summer of 1846, her mind still laboring under the morbid excitement, she desired to spend a few weeks with some friends in the country, and proposed to her husband to go and take the three children with her. He consented and furnished her with the means, and agreed to come and bring her home at the expiration of six weeks. During this absence, she fell in with the Shakers, who told her that she was nearly right about the second advent, that she had mistaken the time a few years, that the second coming of Christ had already taken place in the person of Ann Lee, called Mother Ann.

This saved a part of her mistake and disappointment—she fell in with it, and the result was, at the expiration of six weeks she was a confirmed Shaker and a member of one of their societies, which was in the neighborhood of the place where she was to visit, in the State of New-Hampshire. (Canterbury.) Her husband brought her immediately away, but she was still inclined to the Shaker views. She made such representations of the harmony, perfection of arrangements, and bliss of the Shaker Society, insisting that his opposition was for the want of acquaintance with them, and that if he would only visit them and stop with



them for a time, he would see and know that they were right. The result was, when the leisure season in his business approached, he made arrangements to be absent for a time, and took his wife and children and went to New-Lebanon. They put him and his family into a little cottage by themselves for a time, and then removed them to the North family. They so concealed the objectionable features of their organization, and so deceived him by fair representations, that in an unguarded moment he indentured his children. Soon, however, after he entered the family, he saw his mistake, and left them, but they had obtained such a control over the mind of his wife, that she refused to return with him, and the writs above named were resorted to to obtain possession of his wife and children.

#### THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.

The people of the State of New-York to Richard Bushnell, Sarah Smith Jr., and Jonathan Wood, greeting.

We command you that you have the body of Ann Pillow, by you imprisoned and detained, as it is said, together with the time and cause of such imprisonment and detention, by whatsoever name she shall be called or charged, before the honorable John T. Hogeboom, Judge of Columbia county Courts, of the degree of Counsellor of the Supreme Court, at his office in the city of Hudson, immediately after the receipt of this writ, to do and receive what shall then and there be answered concerning her, and have you then and there this writ.

Witness, Amasa J. Parker, one of the Justices of the Superior Court, this 9th day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1847.

JAMES STORM, Clerk.

K. MILLER, Attorney.

Allowed the 9th day of Sept., 1847.

JOHN T. HOGEBOOM, Co. Judge.

#### RETURN TO THE WRIT.

In obedience to the writ of habeas corpus hereto annexed, we do hereby certify and return to the Honorable John T. Hogeboom, county Judge of Columbia County, that neither at the time of the allowance of said writ, nor at any time since was the said Ann Pillow in our custody, or in the custody of either of us, nor under our power or control nor under the power or control of either of us, nor restrained by us or either of us, of her liberty. Wherefore we cannot, nor can either of us, have her body before the said county Judge, as by the said writ we are commanded.

To the above return was appended the following statement from Mrs. Pillow.

Whereas, it has been represented to the civil authorities of the State, that I am restrained of my liberty by the leading authority among the Society called Shakers: Now, therefore, that the truth may be known, I hereby certify and declare to all whom it may concern, that I was received into the Society upon the request of my husband, William H. Pillow, about the 20th of Nov. last, and a few weeks from the above date, we both moved into the North Family of the New-Lebanon Society aforesaid, where Richard Bushnell and Sarah Smith, Jr. are acknowledged as leading members, that from that time to the present, I have never been restrained of my liberty, or controlled contrary to my free choice either by the said Richard Bushnell or Sarah Smith, Jr., or by any

member or members of said Society, but have been at my perfect liberty and freedom to leave the Society any day or time if I chose.

ANN PILLOW.

The return was signed and sworn to by the respondents.

The object of such a return was to get rid of the proof that they had her in their custody on the 25th of August, when by force they took her from the possession of her husband, the relator. They did not return that they had her into their custody at any time previously to the allowance of the writ, and how they had disposed of that custody, which the law positively required them to do, if at any time they had possession of her, even previously to the allowance of the writ. As the affair of the 25th of August clearly brought them within the requisition of the statute, which required them to return if they had been in possession of the party prior to the allowance of the writ, and as the statement of Ann Pillow herself after the service of the writ, produced by them, proved her still there, the return appeared false upon its face. It was therefore replied to as follows :

#### REPLY TO THE RETURN.

The reply of William H. Pillow, the husband of Ann Pillow, in whose behalf the proceedings in this cause are prosecuted, in reply to the answers put in by the said Richard Bushnell, Sarah Smith Jr., and Jonathan Wood, says that said answers do not state or set forth that the said Ann Pillow was not at any time before the date of the said writ of habeas corpus in their or either of their custody, or under their power or restraint, and this repliant alleges that the said Ann Pillow before the date of said writ, to wit, on the 25th of August, 1847, and before and since that day, was a member of the North Family of the United Society of Shakers, under the power, control and orders of the said Bushnell and Smith, as leading Elder and Elders of said North Family, at New Lebanon, in the county of Columbia, and that the said Ann as a member of the said family, was, and still is in the custody of and under the power and restraint of the said Richard Bushnell and Sarah Smith, Jr., as such Elder and Elders. This repliant further says that the said answer of the said Richard Bushnell and Sarah Smith, Jr. is untrue in matter of fact, and charges that the said Richard Bushnell and Sarah Smith, Jr., before and at the time of the date of said writ, had the custody and care of the said Ann Pillow, and that she the said Ann, was in the custody of and under the power of, and restrained by the said Richard Bushnell and Sarah Smith, Jr., and still continues under the influence, power and control of the said Richard and Sarah, as such Elder and Elders of the said North Family.

And further replies and says, that the said Richard and Sarah, as Elder and Elders of the said North Family, on the 25th of August, 1847, at New-Lebanon, in the county aforesaid, with force and arms took the said Ann Pillow out of the care, protection and custody of this repliant as husband and protector of the said Ann, and that they, the said Richard and Sarah, still have the care, custody, power and control of her, the said Ann Pillow.

WM. H. PILLOW.

The counsel for the SHAKERS objected to the reply being entered upon the record of the trial, claiming that their return was conclusive and final, and that it could not be disputed or disproved by the relator. After argument by counsel on both sides, for which we have not room, the Judge overruled the objection, and allowed the plaintiff to proceed to prove the return false as alleged in his reply.



At this point the counsel for the Shakers petitioned the court to allow them to amend their return, and his Honor granted the petition. They then presented the following:

#### THE FURTHER RETURN.

For a further return and answer to the writ of habeas corpus heretofore annexed, we do certify and return, that neither at the time of the allowance of the said writ, nor at any time before such allowance or since, was the said Ann Pillow in our custody, or in the custody of either of us, or in the custody of Jonathan Wood, nor in our possession or under the power and control, nor in the possession or under the power and control of either of us, or of Jonathan Wood, nor restrained by either of us, or by the said Jonathan Wood, of her liberty. That prior to the allowance of said writ, the said Ann Pillow was a resident of the Shaker village of New-Lebanon, and an inhabitant of the North Family of Shakers, where she resided voluntarily, and of her own free will, and was at all times at full liberty to remain or go, as she pleased and where she pleased; and since the allowance of said writ, the said Ann Pillow has without our, or either of our advice, counsel or interference, and so far as we, or either of us know or believe, voluntarily and of her own free will, departed from said family and village to parts unknown to us or either of us, and how and at what time particularly, is unknown to us or either of us, and that neither we nor either of us, have any knowledge or information of where she now is, or what has become of her.

This further reply was also signed and sworn to by the Shaker respondents.

This further return did not relieve the predicament in which they had involved themselves by attempting to evade the law and the intentions of the writ. Now they denied on oath having ever had the party under their control, while it could be proved that they did actually take her by force out of the possession of her husband, the statement from her brought by them showing that she was still there, after the service of the writ. To complete their predicament, the relator replied to their further return as follows:

#### REPLY TO THE FURTHER RETURN.

The relator in further reply to the return put in by the said respondents, and in reply to further return by them put in, says that the said Ann Pillow at the time of the allowance of said writ, and before and since, was in the custody and in the possession or under the control of, and restrained by the said Richard Bushnell, Sarah Smith, Jr., and Jonathan Wood, or some of them, of her liberty. That the said Ann Pillow prior to the allowance of said writ, was a member of the North Family of the Society of Shakers, under the power and control of said Bushnell and Smith, as Elder and Eldress, and continued such member after the service of said writ, and as the relator is informed and believes, still continues to be a member of said family, and that as a member of said family, the said Ann, is by the rules and regulations of said Society, entirely subject to the orders, directions and commands of the said Elder and Eldress, and is restrained and prevented from doing any act, or departing from the bounds of said family without their orders, directions or consent, and that the residence of the said Ann in the North Family of said Society, as a member thereof, does not depend upon her volition or will, but depends entirely upon the will of the officers of said Society on pain of excommunication from said Society. And that the said further return is evasive and untrue in not stating that the said



Ann is a member of said North Family. That the said further return is insufficient in stating that the said Ann has since the allowance of the said writ without their advice, consent or interference, and as far as they know, voluntarily departed to parts unknown, inasmuch as they do not, in said further return, state or answer that such departure was without their knowledge, consent or procurement, and do not state at what particular time the said Ann departed from their said Society, and do not state whether the said Ann has ceased to be a member of said Society—and that the further return is insufficient on the ground that the return and further return, with the evidence accompanying the original return, show that the said Ann Pillow before and at the time of the issuing of the habeas corpus, and up to the 13th Sept., inst., was a member of the North Family of said Society, under the said Richard Bushnell and Sarah Smith, Jr., as leading members thereof, and charges and alleges that as the said Ann was a member of said family after the service of said writ, and after the appearance of the respondents before this Court, the said Richard Bushnell and Sarah Smith, Jr., as Elder and Eldress of said North Family, are, and ought by law, to be compelled to produce the body of said Ann Pillow before this Court.

Wherefore the relator prays, that the Court will adjudge the said return and further return, insufficient and evasive, and compel them to produce the body of said Ann Pillow upon the habeas corpus.

WM. H. PILLOW.

The same objections were raised by counsel to the placing of this reply to the further return upon the record, that had been to the first reply, and it was disposed of in the same way, his Honor deciding that the relator on the presentation of this reply might proceed to prove the allegations therein contained. The issue was now fully joined. The question before the Court was the truth or falsity of the return as a whole, taking both returns as forming one entire return.

This question arose on the motion of counsel for an attachment to imprison the responding Shakers to compel them to produce the body of Ann Pillow. Testimony was as follows:

#### THE TESTIMONY.

LUTHER LEE. I reside in New-York, am a clergyman, a Wesleyan Methodist, and edit a religious newspaper. I went to New-Lebanon on the 25th of August, in company with W. H. Pillow, Mrs. Pilcher, and Miss Patten. We went from Canaan depot in a carriage with a driver. We went to bring away Mrs. Pillow and his three children. We stopped in front of the office of the Church Family, and were met at the door by a man whom they called Jonathan Wood. Mr. Pillow inquired of him where his wife and children were, and was told that his wife was at the North Family, and his children in another place, not far distant. Mr. Pillow inclined to go to the North Family, but was told that he had better stop there as they had company at the North Family, and they would send for his wife and children. We were invited in, very kindly received, and dinner was soon provided for us. After dinner Mrs. Pillow and the children came in. Richard Bushnell and Daniel Boler came in about the same time. I saw Mrs. Pillow when she came in, shook hands with her; she and her husband kissed each other. There was another man came in about the same time, whom they called Caretaker. I believe his name is Blakeman.

Mr. Pillow told Bushnell and Boler, that he had come to take his wife and children home. They said he had no right to take the children

away, because they were indentured to Edward Fowler. Whether he took his wife away, they said depended upon her own will. He replied that it depended upon his will, not hers. A warm discussion followed between Mr. Pillow and myself on one side, and Mr. Bushnell and Boler on the other side. The question debated was whether he had a right to take his wife away against her consent.

They contended that because he had brought her there, he had no right to take her away against her consent. He replied that he had done wrong in bringing his wife and children there, he had repented of it, and had come to right the wrong he had done by taking them away. They said it would be ungenerous for him to take the children away when Edward Fowler was away from home, to whom they were indentured. Mr. Pillow said he was not going to run away, nor put his property out of his hands, and if he did any wrong to Edward Fowler, he knew where to find him to obtain redress. Bushnell objected to the discussion of the principles of Shakerism before the children, but challenged me to discuss with some few of their friends in private. I declined, but challenged him in turn for a public discussion, saying that if he would collect their people, I would agree to bring as many people of my faith, and hold a discussion. He declined. The discussion was warm, but not unkind.

I told Mr. Pillow it was of no use to argue the case longer, and that it was time to be going. He then took his wife's bonnet and laid it in the lap of his wife, saying, my dear, when we were married you promised to obey me, and I now call upon you by my rights as your husband to fulfil that promise by returning home with me. She made no reply. He then put her bonnet upon her head and tied it on. She made no resistance, but inclined her head forward to receive the bonnet, and backward to have it tied. He then put the oldest boy into my charge and one in charge of Mrs. Pilcher, and the other in charge of Miss Patten, requesting us to take them along with us. He took Mrs. Pillow by the arm and she rose up and he led her out of the room and we followed. I did not see her resist. Mr. Bushnell and Mr. Boler went out just ahead, and when Mr. Pillow came to the head of the stairs, which led down to the front door, they were blocked up by Mr. Boler, who stood upon the stairs near the top to stop the passage. Mr. Pillow then turned to go out at the back door, when Bushnell attempted to shut it, but could not on account of some fastening. As Mr. Pillow was likely to go out with his wife at the back door, two females seized hold of her, one hold of each arm, and dragged her and him with her into another room. They then went out of my sight for a moment. The boy I was holding was pulled away from me, I not holding as tight as I could, partly letting go to get into the room where Mr. and Mrs. Pillow were, which I did in a moment. Mr. Pillow still had hold of her arm, and one of the females had hold of the other arm and the other females was standing by, and there was some loud talking and some apparent confusion. Mr. Pillow asked me what he had better do. I told him we had better desist, as it was useless to contend against them by force, that he had better go to Hudson and send an officer with a precept for them. They forbid his taking her away and said he would get himself into trouble if he did. I told them we would prosecute them, that they were liable to a prosecution every day they harboured her there against his wishes. They said they knew what the law was as well as I did. I demanded their names, and they gave them to me. Richard Bushnell, Daniel Boler, Antoinett Doolittle and Samantha Fair-



banks. Mr. Bushnell called upon me to witness that Mrs. Pillow was not restrained of her liberty. She said that she was not. At the time she said this, Mr. Pillow had hold of one arm and one of the females hold of the other. We then left and went out to the carriage, which was standing in front of the house ready to start when we came out. The horses had been under the shed back of the house, and I had been back and ordered the driver to bring his team round and be ready. I had told him what we were going for. I had told Mr. Pillow that he had a right to take his wife any where he could find her, and that the law would bear him out in it, provided he did not use injurious force. I advised him to take her. I did not advise him to take the children, but told him I could not tell whether he had a right to take them or not, as I had not seen the indentures. I had understood that they were bound, but had also understood that it was doubtful whether the indentures were good, and refused to take any legal responsibility until I could see the indentures for myself.

Frances Pilcher was next sworn. Her testimony was the same as the above, only it was not quite as full and particular, but it related to the same facts, and contained nothing contrary to it, but confirmed it as far as it went, and need not be repeated as the reader has it all in the above.

**DAVID W. BARKER.** I reside in Troy. I know Mr. and Mrs. Pillow. I resided in the North Family of Shakers about seventeen months. I left there in February last. Richard Bushnell, Frederick Evans, Sarah Smith, jr., and Antoinette Doolittle, are Elders. Sarah Smith, jr., is above Antoinette Doolittle, and Bushnell is the leading Elder. Mrs. Pillow was a member of the North Family of Shakers when I left there. The first thing to be done on going there is to confess their sins. The men confess to the Elders and the females confess to the Elderess. The Government of the Society is partly written and partly unwritten. The books contain allusions to the government, and requires obedience to it on the part of all the members, but the rules of government that are unwritten, are called the gift of God, and are perpetually changing. Here a number of books were presented which the witness declared to be their books. There is another book, said he, called Sacred Roll, which is very difficult to obtain. It contains prophesies, revelations and visions, and there are testimonies in support of it, which are sometimes bound with it. The daily revelations from God which they profess to have, are not written and published. They may come from any member, but the ministry determines which are from God and which not. When such prophesies and revelations are confirmed by the ministry, the members must receive them from the Elders, and carry them out in all respects, or loose their union with the society. These are some of the orders by which every member is required to be governed. It is contrary to order for any one to open his mind on any subject out of order, as it is called; that is, whatever is on the mind must first be communicated to the Elders. If any person has a grief of mind, or any thing of the kind, it is contrary to order, to mention it to any one but the Elders. Obedience to the Elders is absolutely required. All letters written by the members have to be shown to the Elders before they are sent, and all letters received by the members have to be shown to the Elders after they are received. Members are bound to go just where the Elders tell them to go, and are not at liberty to go any where else. It is made the duty of each one to act as a spy upon all the rest, to report to the Elders if any one does or says any thing contrary to order. This rule I had from Richard Bushnell.



The Elders are appointed by the ministry. Members are removed from one family to another without being consulted; they are told it is the gift of God, and they have to obey. The ministry consists of four persons, two males and two females, and they appoint their successors. When one dies or is about to die the three remaining ones appoint his successor, the members have no more voice in the selection of their officers, than the trees on the farm. The members are taught that they must renounce all natural relations. It is insisted that in order to become spiritual beings, they must renounce all natural relations, wife, husband, brother, sister, father and mother. This is kept constantly before the minds of all that are there, that to leave them is to go to almost certain destruction. They cite cases of those who have left, and say that they who leave generally come to some bad end.

I knew Mr. and Mrs. Pillow, when they were among the Shakers. They lived for a time in a house by themselves. I do not think they slept together. Any connexion between husband and wife is, by the Shakers, considered as bad as whoredom or adultery.

EMILY McCARTY.—I am acquainted with William H. Pillow. I have known Richard Bushnell, Sarah Smith, jr., and Jonathan Wood, about twenty years. I am twenty-four years of age. I went into the family of Shakers when I was between two and three years old, and left them in October last. When I was twenty-one, I signed the Shaker covenant. This cuts those who sign it off from claiming wages from the time they have lived there. I have known persons taken away by the Shakers to prevent their friends from obtaining possession of them. I was once taken away. One of the Deaconess took me to another house. We did not go in the road, but through the lots and over fences. I did not know why we went. We stayed there about an hour and a half. She kept looking out towards the office while we were there. She then took me home again the same way through the fields, and left me with the one who usually had the care of me. Her name was Marilla Fairbanks, and she took me through the fields and away from the road to another family. I did not know where we were going until we got nearly there. I asked her what she was taking me up there for. She then asked me if I wanted my brother to tear me away from them. I told her I did not. She said then I must go with her, and if I would stay with her and be good, I should have that silk handkerchief she had on. She then asked me if I would stay with her if she would give me the handkerchief, and if I went away I would certainly go to hell. She said I must give up all the natural affection I had for my brothers, or they would naturally draw me to them. We got to the house about 1 o'clock, and I stayed there until eight that evening. It was in March, and a very dark and rainy night. About 8 o'clock, the Elder of the family and Marilla took me in a wagon, and I supposed I was going home. They stopped at the church office to get a blanket to cover us on account of the rain. I asked why they did not stop, and was told we must go a little further, but they did not tell me where or how far. When we got nearly to Hancock, in Mass., where they have another society, she told me we were going to stop there and stay some time. She said my brother had been at the church office during the day and asked to see me, and they told him that I was not at home, and that she then came and took me away as stated above. I stayed at Hancock a week, and was kept in the house during the time. When I got home I was told that another brother was there again next day after I left, and wished to see me, and they told him they did not know where

I was, or when I would be home. On the day we went home, two sisters came over in the morning, and I was then told that my brothers had both gone home, and that I could then go out into the yard. I was bound to the Shakers by my father, and I left them voluntarily. I left them to get married. When I was coming away, one of the sisters, a Deaconess, took hold of me and said "how can you bare to go to hell with your eyes wide open."

AURILLA AMANDA TRAVER.—I was among the Shakers five years and ten months. It is about three years since I left them. I lived in what is called the Canaan Family. My husband was there with me. I knew Richard Bushnell, Sarah Smith, Jr., and Jonathan Wood. I was never allowed to do anything without their special directions. Richard Bushnell, Frederick Evans, Antoinett Doolittle, and Sarah Smith, Jr., once came down to the Canaan Family, to hold a meeting. Sarah Smith, Jr. brought Josephine Burnett into the room, and told her to kneel down, with her face to the wall, that she was not fit to worship God with them. She obeyed, and was on her knees with her face to the wall some time. I cannot say how long. It is contrary to order to look at such a member, but I saw her there some time. Sarah Smith once took hold of me—I never saw the woman look as she did then. She took hold of my shoulders and gave me a most violent shaking. She shook me on account of some conversation I had with my husband. I had told my husband that Ruth Landon said I might take my children where I pleased, for she did not feel disposed to support my lust. She asked me if I was not ashamed, and said I was as intimate with my husband, as man and wife, only we did not sleep together. I told her it was not so, and then she shook me. I did not sleep with my husband when I was with the Shakers.

CATHERINE ELIZABETH TRAVER.—I shall be thirteen years old the 24th of October. I was in the Church Family of Shakers. When I was brought down to Hudson, A. S. Potter talked with me. She told me if I wanted to go back with them I must say so, and if I wished to go to the world, I must say so, but I must say I wished to go back with them. This was before we started from Lebanon. No one was by when she said it. Eliza Ann Taylor told me, if I was not a good girl, and did not come back again, I would certainly go to hell.

Here the plaintiff rested. It should be remarked that the testimony, as here given, is greatly condensed, though it embraces every essential point. Many questions were asked, and many answers given of no importance, but all that relates to the case both in the direct and cross examination, is here brought together in a connected form. It should also be remarked that the counsel for the Shakers objected to nearly all the testimony as inadmissible under the rules of evidence. This was more or less argued at different stages of the proceedings. His honor decided that it was competent to prove the government of the society, and the general restraint which was exercised over Mrs. Pillow, who is proved to be a member, and under this rule the evidence was admitted.

At this point the plaintiff having closed his evidence, the counsel for the Shakers moved the court for a nonsuit, on the ground that there was not proof enough to require them to go into a defence. The Judge said it was not strictly a nonsuit, but partook of the nature of one, and must be governed by the



same rules, so far as they can be applied to this peculiar case. He said he would entertain the motion, and if on hearing the argument, he came to the conclusion that no evidence had been adduced, which would require it to go to the jury, were it a jury trial, then he would grant the motion for a nonsuit, but if he should come to the conclusion that there was some evidence, such as would require a case to be given to a jury, he should deny the motion, and reserve the question of the degree of evidence, whether there was enough to justify the attachment prayed for, for a final hearing and decision on the general merits. The course would be, if the motion was denied, the defendants would go on and make their defence. This motion changed the affirmative, and gave to Shaker counsel the right of opening and closing. Mr. Monel opened on the Shaker side, arguing that no proof had been adduced. Theodore Miller, junior counsel for the plaintiff, replied. Henry Hogeboom on the Shaker side then closed. We cannot give their arguments for want of room, but will state the substance.

1.<sup>st</sup> It was contended that the affair of the 25th of August, was not a restraint within the meaning of the law; that it was Mr. Pillow that was restrained, if any body, by being prevented from taking his wife away by force. She was not restrained, on that occasion, for it was clear that she did not desire to go.

2. It was insisted that there was no proof, admitting that restraint existed on the 25th, that it had been continued, and now exists. The respondents return on oath, that she had left the place, and that they did not know where she was, and this must be conclusive in the absence of proof to the contrary.

3. All that had been proved about the government of the society, and the general restraint exercised over the members, was only a moral restraint, an influencing of the will, which does not bring them within the reach of a habeas corpus. There must be physical restraint to make the parties liable to this writ. The arguments were as good as able counsel could weave on that side of the question.

Mr. Miller replied with clearness and much force, and deep feeling. He is comparatively a young man, and his plea did honor to his head, and even more to his heart.

His Honor denied the motion, and in so doing he stated that there was some proof that restraint had been exercised. That physical restraint was clearly proved to have existed on the 25th. On the subject of moral and physical restraint, his Honor remarked, that he would not say that purely moral influence came within the meaning of the law, but when the restraint was of a nature and degree which confined the party sought to be relieved, within physical and geographical limits, and under the control of a particular person or persons, it partook so



much of the nature of physical restraint, as to bring the party within reach of a habeas corpus. Whether there was proof enough to justify the granting of the attachment to imprison the respondents, to compel them to produce the body of Ann Pillow, he could determine only in a final decision upon the merits of the case after hearing the defence. He could not say what rebutting evidence might be adduced. It was enough now to say that there was some evidence, and he must therefore deny the motion.

On the rendering of this decision, the counsel for the Shakers moved the court for an adjournment, to give them an opportunity to consult, as they were in doubt whether to bring rebutting testimony, or rest it where it was. It was about five, P. M., and the Court adjourned until seven in the evening.

The above proceedings occupied two days, and we are now brought to Friday evening. We must now go back and open a new scene which commenced on Thursday night. An opinion gathered from different sources, became very strong at the adjournment of the Court on Thursday evening, that Mrs. Pillow was then at the North Family of Shakers, where they had sworn she was not. A consultation was held, and it was determined to make an attempt to obtain possession of her. The necessary papers were prepared, and his Honor on application, granted a warrant under the statute, the design of which is to arrest and hold persons when there is danger of their being carried out of the State before they can be relieved by the regular process of habeas corpus. This warrant was given to the high Sheriff of the county. With friend P. to identify the woman, who felt quite sure he should know his own wife if he should find her, the Sheriff started early Friday morning for Shakerdom. All day the trial progressed as described above, no one on the Shaker side mistrusting what had been started, so still was the whole matter conducted. Just before the time for the evening session of the Court to commence, the Sheriff returned with the woman in his custody, having taken her at the dinner table, in the very house where the writ described her as being detained, and where the Shaker respondents had sworn she was not, and where they must have known she was, during the whole progress of the trial. The woman was not brought to the court house, but taken to another place. The hour came and the Judge took his seat to resume the trial as though nothing had occurred. By the absence of some of the Shakers, and the great and mighty whispering between the rest and the counsel, it was clear that they were aware that a new drama was to be opened, but what, they did not probably clearly understand. Finally the counsel stated that they should introduce no rebutting testimony. The Court then called upon the parties to sum up. The de-

defendant's counsel said they should not sum up, but leave the matter just where it was. The Court told the plaintiff's counsel they could sum up. It was their right now to open and close.

Killeen Miller, the senior counsel, rose and addressed the Court after the following manner: This is a peculiar case, and the whole proceeding has been very unusual, and to me before unheard of. A writ of habeas corpus has been issued, and an evasive and insufficient answer made to it, and made on oath, as your Honor will observe. They did not return the real facts in the case, as honest men should and would have done. They did not tell us the woman was there, or had been there, but simply returned that they had her not in their custody and under their control, neither at the time of the allowance of the writ, nor at any time since. This was a clear attempt to evade the law, and they have been compelled to amend the return. They next returned that at no time have they had her in their custody and under their control, that she had been there as a boarder, but not under restraint, and that since the allowance of the writ, she had left of her own free will, and gone to parts unknown, and that they cannot produce her. On this the issue has been joined, and this is the issue we have been trying these two days. These Shakers have been insisting under oath, that they cannot produce her, that they do not know where she is. Now sir, what will your Honor think, and what will the community think of these Shakers and of their institution, when the facts are known? What will be thought of these Elders, these guides in the Millennial Church? What will be thought of them and their institutions after they have been denying under oath that they do not know where that woman is, when I say she has been taken this day in the very place where we affirmed she was, in the house of this very Elder Bushnell, who swears that he does not know where she is. Yes, your Honor, she has been found this day in their possession, and has been restored to the arms of her husband; so far, therefore, as the writ of habeas corpus is concerned, and so far as the motion pending before the Court for an attachment is concerned, the end is fully attained the suit on our part is dismissed.

Here Mr. Monel rose in behalf of the Shakers, and claimed of his Honor that the woman be produced in Court, that she might speak for herself, and say if she had been restrained. He said it was due the defendants, as they were charged with having made a false return under oath. She can decide this point, said he, if she be brought there. They have been insisting that we should bring her here, and now, if they have her in their possession, let them produce her, and show how they obtained possession of her, and let us see who has a right



to such possession. This course he insisted, was due to the Court; it was necessary to sustain the honor of the bench, in view of the circumstance. The Court was knowing to the arrest of the woman, had even had her before him, and had concealed that fact from the defendants, and had called on them to go on with their defence as though the woman was presumed to be in their possession, when in fact she was in the possession of the Court, which fact was unknown to the defendants. To say the least, it demands an explanation.

To these remarks his Honor replied in substance as follows;

There is no necessity of producing the woman in this Court; she has been arrested on a warrant issued by me, under another provision of the statute, which is in no way connected with this trial. The only design of the warrant, was to secure the possession of the woman, and hold her until this trial should finally issue, to prevent her being removed out of the State, before she could be reached by the final decision of the case. Under these circumstances, had the respondents set up any claim to the woman in their return, it would have been necessary to bring her into court, that such claim might be settled, but as they returned under oath that they did not have her in their custody, and did not know where she was, and set up no claim to her, they cannot claim her now. This leaves the relator's claim to her undisputed, and the object of his efforts being attained in another way, the respondents have no cause of complaint, or ground to demand that she be brought into this court, inasmuch as they have denied all possession and all claim to her in their return.

As to her being produced here as a means necessary to sustain the honor of the court, the counsel need give himself no concern about that. After all that has been proved, and the repeated complaints that have been made by the counsel, that stigma was cast upon the society of Shakers, the court felt bound for its own honor, and for the honor of the parties, and the complaining party especially, to witheold the fact of the woman's arrest, to give them a chance to defend themselves by rebutting the testimony complained of, and summing up the case, that it might be placed in its proper light at the close. The court having taken this course, and given to the defendants the offer of introducing rebutting testimony, and of summing up, and they having declined it, they ought not to complain. Then the court arose and every man went to his own home.

It is time the community understood the nature and tendencies of Shakerism. We regard the whole institution as at war with the law of God, the order of nature, and public policy and the best institutions of our country. We have no room or comments, "but the end is not yet."



## Letter of James W. Spinney.

*Mr. Norris:* Dear Sir,—I notice in a late number of the Evening Transcript, a paragraph taken from the N. H. Patriot, stating that a committee had been appointed to investigate certain charges preferred against the Shakers in that State, respecting the alleged cruelty exercised in their training of children, and that a minority report of that committee had been made, exculpating the Shakers from all blame in this particular. The reader can determine whether they are free from blame or not in this respect, after perusing the following facts which came under my observation during a residence of some years with the society of Shakers at Canterbury, N. H., and which can be substantiated by more than twenty witnesses. I was but eight years of age when taken there to live, and remained for several years, during which time I was trained up with about twenty other boys, the most of whom were children of poor parents from all parts of the country; and many are the scenes of cruelty which I have seen practised upon these defenceless children for petty offences—scenes which would have made any human being, but a hardened, well-disciplined Shaker, shudder to behold. I have seen a boy five years old, beaten in school with a large ruler, until he sank upon the floor nearly dead, because he could not repeat a sentence from his spelling book correctly, and was carried home two hours after, not being able to walk himself. I have seen the same boy beaten in the same unmerciful manner more than a hundred times, for similar causes, both in school and out. On one occasion, the man who had charge of the boys, stationed some five or six of them for a trifling offence, upon the floor in a straight line, and beat them with a horsewhip to his heart's content; but one of the boys not manifesting any signs of grief on the occasion, the wretch took him aside, and beat him with the butt end of the whip-stock, so that large wales were discernable on his legs for some time after. Another man who was teaching a boy five or six years old, to read and spell, thinking that he did not progress in his studies so fast as he ought, tied him down naked to a bench, and whipped him so unmercifully with a withe, that he carried the marks of it for weeks after. Some of these cases, and many others equally atrocious, which I could mention had I space, were known to the elders of the society, and no measures were ever taken, to my knowledge, to suppress such wanton cruelty.

I now come to a case which for inhumanity, throws all my preceding statements completely in the shade, and which I

can never contemplate, without feeling sick at heart. About the year 1841, a boy by the name of George A. Emery, four years of age, was taken by his mother to this society, to live. A more interesting child I never beheld, and a brighter intellect I never saw in one so young. After remaining in the society about one year, he was placed under the tuition of one Dennett, a man whom Shakerism had converted completely into a brute. Without any exaggeration, I can say that I have seen Dennett knock this boy to the floor hundreds of times, by striking him on the head with his fist for not spelling a word, or reading a sentence correctly; and for the same cause I have known the brute to lock him up in a damp cellar for half a day at a time, beating him at intervals with a leather strap; and so often were these floggings repeated, that he would sometimes carry these marks for months. But I pass from these scenes, to his mysterious and untimely death. During the forenoon of that day, I was in the shop with Dennett, who was teaching the boy to spell, and because he could not spell a certain word, he knocked him down several times in the manner above narrated, and finally took him down cellar, and beat him with the aforesaid strap for more than an hour, with but little cessation. In the afternoon of the same day, I was standing in an orchard about a quarter of a mile from home, when I accidentally saw Dennett but a few rods off, with a book and strap in his hand, and leading the boy across the orchard, in the direction of the pasture adjoining. I watched them out of sight, and having occasion to remain in the orchard, I saw Dennett in about an hour after, returning hastily towards home, carrying the boy in his arms. When I returned home that evening, I learned that the boy was dead, but no one could tell the cause. The next day a report was circulated through the society, that he fell, and struck his head upon a stone in the pasture, and this was assigned as the cause of his death. I saw the body after it was placed in the coffin, and without any exaggeration, I can say that both sides of his face and head were one complete bruise, from blows received the day before. No legal investigation of the case was ever made, and the innocent victim of Shaker cruelty was now hurried beneath the ground with all possible despatch. These few instances of Shaker barbarity, which I consider but a fair sample of their manner of training children, I leave to the reflection of the reader, without comment; hoping that the motives which impelled me to give them publicity, will not be construed into malicious or selfish purposes, as my only object is to undeceive the public in regard to the piety and honesty which are generally supposed to exist among this pernicious sect.

JAMES W. SPINNEY.

Boston, Feb. 24, 1849.





